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ABSTRACT

The second Policewomen on Patrol Report deals with the patrol work of 86 new female officers of the Metropolitan Police of the District of Columbia and compares them with 86 men over a period of one year. Because there is great diversity of opinion about what constitutes good police performance, a wide variety of performance measurements (surveys, observations, interviews, and ratings) were used in the evaluation. Detailed findings are discussed in the areas of assignment, performance, and attitudes (police and citizen). Various personal opinions of police officials and police men and women are given to augment the findings. The study further analyzed the relationships between background and performance variables (age, delay in passing driving test, education, civil service test scores, pre-employment interview, and height.) Several concluding observations are made about policewomen in relation to their hiring, the handling of violence, selection and supervision of officers, and perspectives on arrests and traffic citations. Appended are notes on the structured observations, possible observer bias, and the effect of the observers. (BP)

POLICEWOMEN ON PATROL
FINAL REPORT

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POLICEWOMEN ON PATROL
FINAL REPORT

BY
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AND
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THE URBAN INSTITUTE

PoliceFoundation

The Police Foundation is a privately funded, independent, non-profit organization established by the Ford Foundation in 1970 and dedicated to supporting innovation and improvement in policing. The Foundation's research findings are published as an information service. Conclusions and recommendations are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Foundation.

The Urban Institute is a non-profit research organization established in 1968 to study problems of the nation's urban communities, to respond to current needs for disinterested analysis and basic information, and to attempt to facilitate the application of this knowledge. Opinions expressed are those of the authors and not necessarily those of The Institute.

This is the principal volume of *Policewomen on Patrol: Final Report.* A supplementary volume, containing a detailed description and analysis of the methodology used to obtain the findings in this report, data tables and survey research instruments, is scheduled for later publication. Copies of this report are available on request from the Police Foundation, 1909 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

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FOREWORD

Federal law and guidelines are clear. Since 1972, every police department in the United States has been in the position of having to hire and assign women on an equal basis with men or demonstrate that there was a *bona fide* occupational qualification for not doing so.

In 1972, a survey conducted by Catherine Milton, an Assistant Police Foundation Director, disclosed little objective information was available on the subject of policewomen on patrol. The findings of Ms. Milton's survey are available in *Women in Policing*, a Foundation publication.

Because patrol operations take up the majority of the average police agency's resources and are considered the most important of all police work, the Police Foundation decided to sponsor an evaluation of the performance of women on patrol. The purpose was to provide police and public administrators with as much scientific information as possible on the subject.

The evaluation was undertaken for the Foundation by The Urban Institute of Washington, D.C. The results are the subject of this document. The Foundation believes that, while the evaluation was conducted in Washington, the results will be useful for police agencies nationwide.

A decision of Chief Jerry V. Wilson of the Metropolitan Police of the District of Columbia to assign a large number of women to patrol provided the first significant opportunity for such an evaluation.

The evaluation could not have been realized without the invaluable assistance and work of Chief Wilson and the Metropolitan Police; The Urban Institute; Joseph Lewis, Director of Evaluation for the Police Foundation; Ms. Milton; and the diligent authors, Peter B. Bloch and Deborah Anderson of The Institute. The technical guidance of the Police Foundation's Evaluation Advisory Group was an important ingredient in the completion of this report. Members of the group are Professor Francine F. Rabinovitz, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Professor Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Department of Sociology, Yale University; Professor Lee Sechrest, Department of Psychology, University of Florida; and Professor Hans Zeisel of the University of Chicago Law School.

Patrick V. Murphy
President
Police Foundation

AUTHORS' ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report was funded by the Police Foundation, which has provided leadership in the study of policewomen with its earlier study, *Women in Policing*, by Catherine H. Milton (1972) and the authors' initial report, *Policewomen on Patrol* (1973).

Chief Jerry V. Wilson of the Metropolitan Police of the District of Columbia made this study possible when he decided to conduct an experiment in the use of women on patrol. Wilson's commitment and assistance were greatly appreciated. His department has patiently cooperated with research efforts by completing questionnaires and answering many questions involved in the preparation of this report.

James Murray, formerly the Police Department's Director of Administrative Services, Catherine Walker and Jean Smith of the Personnel Division, and Captain William Harlowe of the Data Processing Division were particularly helpful in providing access to relevant data.

Chilton Research Corporation of Philadelphia assisted in the study by conducting citizen interviews. Andrew Brown of Chilton helped to direct this assistance. The International City Management Association assisted in the design of the data collection instrument used in the observation of police officers.

The Urban Institute staff directed a program in which observers rode in police cars to measure police performance. Sergeant Robert Matthews, Sergeant John Straley, Lieutenant Charles Rothermel, Lieutenant Donald Bryant, Sergeant Theodore Truban, Sergeant William McGill and Lucy Slate took a personal interest in this program and helped to resolve many of the problems that were involved.

A special note of gratitude goes to the police officers who were interviewed and to the observers whose enthusiasm and diligence yielded vital information and diverse perspectives on women in policing.

Joseph H. Lewis, Director of Evaluation of the Police Foundation, Catherine H. Milton, Assistant Director, and Thomas Brady, Director of Communications, were a constant source of useful suggestions. Phillip Sawicki and Laura Horowitz of Editorial Experts provided helpful editorial assistance. Sharon J. Winkler, Public Information Officer of the Foundation, was responsible for the publication of this report.

Bobbie Carlin, Joe Gueron and Vicki Holliday, computer programmers and analysts at The Urban Institute, were invaluable in completing our analytical work.

Joseph S. Wholey provided overall guidance as director of The Urban Institute's Program Evaluation Studies. Thomas White, Katryna Regan, Alfred Schwartz, Joy Nay, Phillip Schaenman, and Donald Weidman provided important assistance on The Institute's internal advisory committee and offered helpful suggestions for the presentation of the report.

The members of the Police Foundation's Evaluation Advisory Group contributed substantial assistance to the authors at the design and interpretation stages of this evaluation.

Sergeant Mary Ellen Abrecht and Inspector Claude Dove of the police department also contributed very helpful suggestions in the preparation of the report.

Jill Bury, Mary Sarley and Tricia Knapick of The Urban Institute provided essential secretarial support.

Finally Montina E. Pyndell made a major contribution in directing portions of the structured observations and interviews of police officers and generally assisted in the preparation of the report as a contributing author.

Peter B. Bloch
Deborah J. Anderson
The Urban Institute

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I. INTRODUCTION

Since 1969 the Metropolitan Police of the District of Columbia, under Chief Jerry V. Wilson, has been a leader among the nation's police departments in expanding employment opportunities for women. Of all the actions taken by the department in this regard, none was more significant than the assignment in 1972 of a substantial number of newly hired women to the most important of all police jobs, the job of patrol.[1] That action broke the national barrier which had limited all but a few female officers to "policewomen's work," such as clerical duties, youth division assignments and searches of women prisoners.[2]

Soon after Chief Wilson's announcement of the department's intention to move women into patrol work, the Police Foundation agreed to sponsor an evaluation of these new female officers by The Urban Institute of Washington, D.C. It was clear that in a nation where almost all kinds of police work, including patrol, had traditionally been considered the prerogative of men, an objective evaluation of the patrol work of women was desirable. Only through such an objective evaluation could other police departments (and the public) competently assess the results of the District of Columbia's experiment.

Therefore, The Urban Institute and the department jointly designed a policewomen on patrol experiment; and as 86 women (*new women*) entered the department over the next year, they were matched (for the purposes of this experiment) with an equal number of men (*comparison men*) hired at the same time and also given patrol assignments. A description of the experiment may be found in Chapter IV.

After the new women and comparison men had been hired and selected for this study, it was found that they were similar in education (average of 12.8 years for women, 12.9 for men), civil service test scores (average of 82 for both groups), number of jobs previously held (about 3.5 for both groups), and in the ratings they received in pre-employment interviews. New women and comparison men also earned similar average scores at the police academy. More of the new women were black (68 percent compared to 42 percent of the men), and more had children (54 percent of the women, 31 percent of the men).

Both men and women had to meet a minimum height requirement of 5'7". The average height of the women was 5'7.8" and of the men, 5'10.3". The average weight of the women was 138 pounds and of the men 170 pounds.

The initial evaluation of the work of the new female officers was published by the Police Foundation in February 1973 under the title *Policewomen on Patrol–Major Findings: First Report.* That report presented findings based on four months of work by 80 new women assigned to patrol the streets of the nation's capital. Those findings were preliminary, and that initial report contained a promise that a second and broader-scale report would be published in 1974.

This promised second report supersedes the one published in 1973. It deals with the patrol work of the 86 new female officers and the 86 comparison men over a period of one year. Because there is great diversity of opinion about what constitutes good police performance, a wide variety of performance measurements was used in the evaluation. The measures include supervisory ratings, patrol observation by trained observers, opinions of citizens who observed the police in action, and arrest statistics.

On the basis of an analysis of these and other measures it became possible to answer three fundamental questions that police administrators and the public are likely to have about the hiring of women for patrol work.

First: **Is it appropriate, from a performance viewpoint, to hire women for patrol assignments on the same basis as men?**

---

[1] A smaller number of women already employed by the department were reassigned to patrol as well.

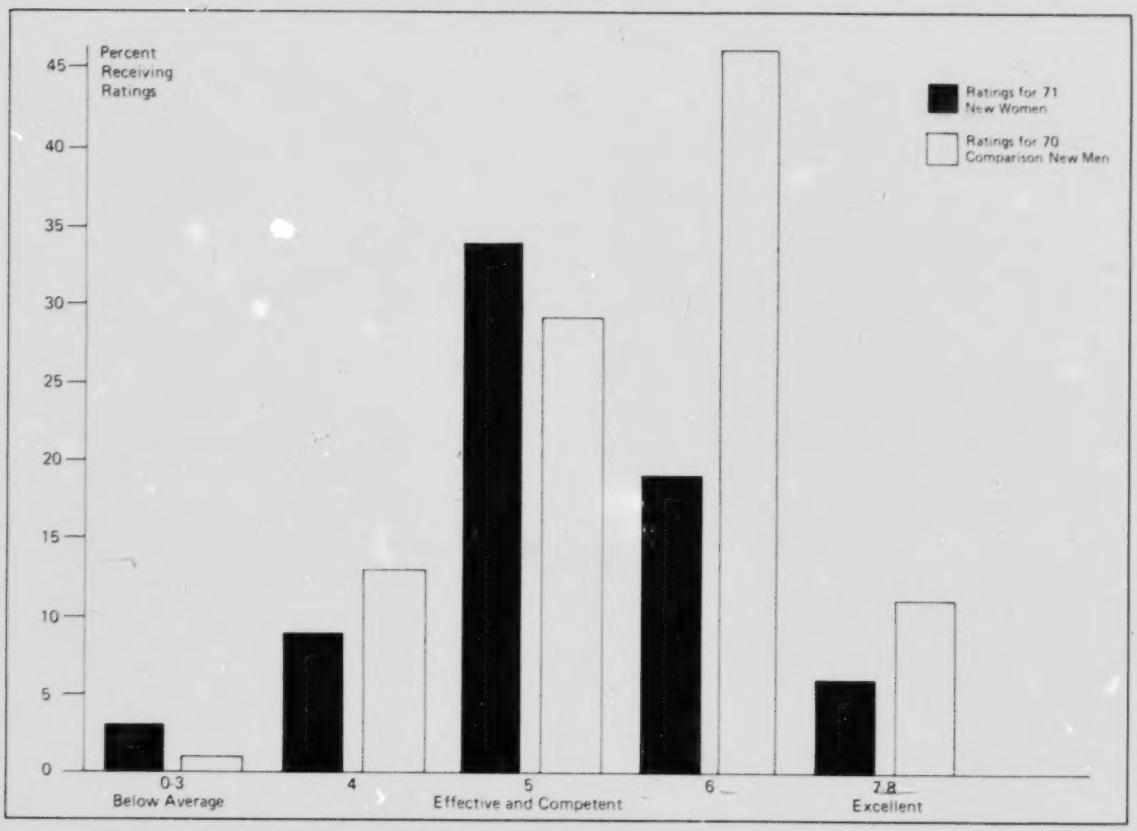
[2] See Catherine H. Milton, *Women in Policing*, Police Foundation, Washington, D.C., March 1972.

This report indicates that it is. The men and women studied for this report performed patrol work in a generally similar manner. They responded to similar types of calls for police service while on patrol and encountered similar proportions of citizens who were dangerous, angry, upset, drunk or violent. Both men and women officers were observed to obtain similar results in handling angry or violent citizens. There were no reported incidents which cast serious doubt on the ability of women to perform patrol work satisfactorily, and in fact this study includes reports of some incidents in which individual women performed quite well in difficult circumstances.

One of the principal differences between men and women on patrol shown in this report is that women as a group made fewer arrests and gave fewer traffic citations. This statistic is subject to some qualifications, however. The department's new female officers were given assignments other than patrol more often than their male counterparts, thereby giving them fewer opportunities to make arrests and give out citations. It is also worth noting that about 20 percent of the women made as many or more arrests as the typical (median) male officer, and that over 60 percent of the women made as many or more arrests as 25 percent of the men.

The difference in arrest levels was not reflected in the performance ratings given to the men and women. These ratings, reflecting overall departmental judgment of the performance of an officer, indicate equal overall satisfaction with officers of both sexes.

Figure 1
OVERALL EVALUATION RATINGS BY THE POLICE DEPARTMENT



Citizens, either interviewed for the purposes of this study or observed at incidents involving police officers, showed similar levels of respect and generally favorable attitudes toward officers of both sexes. No differences were discerned between male and female officers in their levels of respect and generally favorable attitudes toward citizens. Male officers were found more likely to engage in serious unbecoming conduct. Women officers were somewhat more likely to be assigned to light duty as the result of injuries. These injuries, however, did not cause women to be absent from work more often than men.

Finally, it should be noted that similar numbers of women (12 of 86) and men (11 of 86) resigned from the department in the sixteen months after their appointment. Of these, four men and two women were "terminated in the best interest of the department."

In sum, the study shows that sex is not a bona fide occupational qualification for doing police patrol work.

Second: **What advantages or disadvantages arise from hiring women on an equal basis for patrol work?**

The hiring of women enlarges the supply of personnel resources, may reduce the cost of recruiting and may assure that police personnel will be more representative of both the racial and sexual composition of the city. Because citizens generally support the concept of equal employment opportunity for women, women officers may improve police-community relations. Also, women are less likely to become involved in serious unbecoming conduct which can damage community relations.

Another advantage gained by a police department in the hiring of women for patrol work is that it brings the department into compliance with Federal law. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended in 1972, prohibits state and local agencies from employment discrimination based on sex, except when sex is a bona fide occupational qualification.[3]

The attitudes of male officers and police supervisors impose a burden on a police management which wants to treat men and women equally in all respects. Many men do not believe that women can perform as well as men, and they tend to be protective toward women. Unless management develops countermeasures, they may find that women are given stationhouse assignments, such as clerical duty, more often than are men. They may also find that some men will insist that women remain in a police car while they handle traffic stops; some women will be happy to accept this less-active role. If the protectiveness of male officers is not counteracted, women will not have a full opportunity to demonstrate their capability. Serious personnel problems also may arise among male officers who will complain that women are not doing equal work but are receiving equal pay.

The tendency of men to be protective toward women also may make it difficult to fire incompetent policewomen during their probationary period. While there is no indication that this difficulty occurred during this experiment, the attitudes that were uncovered suggest that it may occur elsewhere. Care should be taken during the probationary period to assure that all officers, of either sex, satisfy performance standards. Unsatisfactory officers should be fired.

It has been noted that the performance of men and women was similar. They responded to similar types of calls for police service while they were on patrol. They saw similar proportions of citizens who were dangerous, angry, upset, drunk or violent. They were observed to obtain similar results in handling angry or violent citizens.

Citizens showed similar levels of respect and generally favorable attitudes toward officers of both sexes. There were no differences between male and female officers in their levels of respect and generally favorable attitudes toward citizens.

Despite the observed similarities of performance, male officials and officers retained serious reservations—which they held before the experiment began—about the ability of women to handle violent situations. Because the sample of situations in which violence actually occurred is small, empirical evidence cannot entirely refute these views. However, because of the small size of the sample, the possibility also exists that women are more effective than men in avoiding violence by defusing potentially violent situations.

The principal differences in the performance of men and women are these:

- *Women made fewer arrests and gave fewer traffic citations;*
- *Men were more likely to engage in serious unbecoming conduct;*
- *Women were somewhat more likely to be assigned to light duty as the result of injuries, but injuries did not cause them to be absent from work more often than men.*

A department may want to motivate women to produce as many arrests and traffic citations as men. It is not clear, however, whether women produce too few arrests or men produce too many. The reason for the ambiguity is that even the Metropolitan Police of the District of Columbia, which is a leader in this field, does not collect enough data to determine fully the quality of the arrests made by men and women. In the District of Columbia, data are available (through the PROMIS system) about the court dispositions of arrests. The data show that arrests made by men and women are equally likely to produce convictions. However, there is no information about whether arrests are necessary *or* desirable. *Police officers can provoke citizens into committing assaults. They also have the power to overlook minor offenses when, in their discretion, an arrest would be counterproductive. Few departments have procedures to determine whether individual officers appear to provoke citizens or are too quick to arrest in situations where wisdom might suggest a need to overlook a minor offense.*

Care must be taken that changes in supervisory standards relating to arrests will not encourage misplaced aggressiveness.

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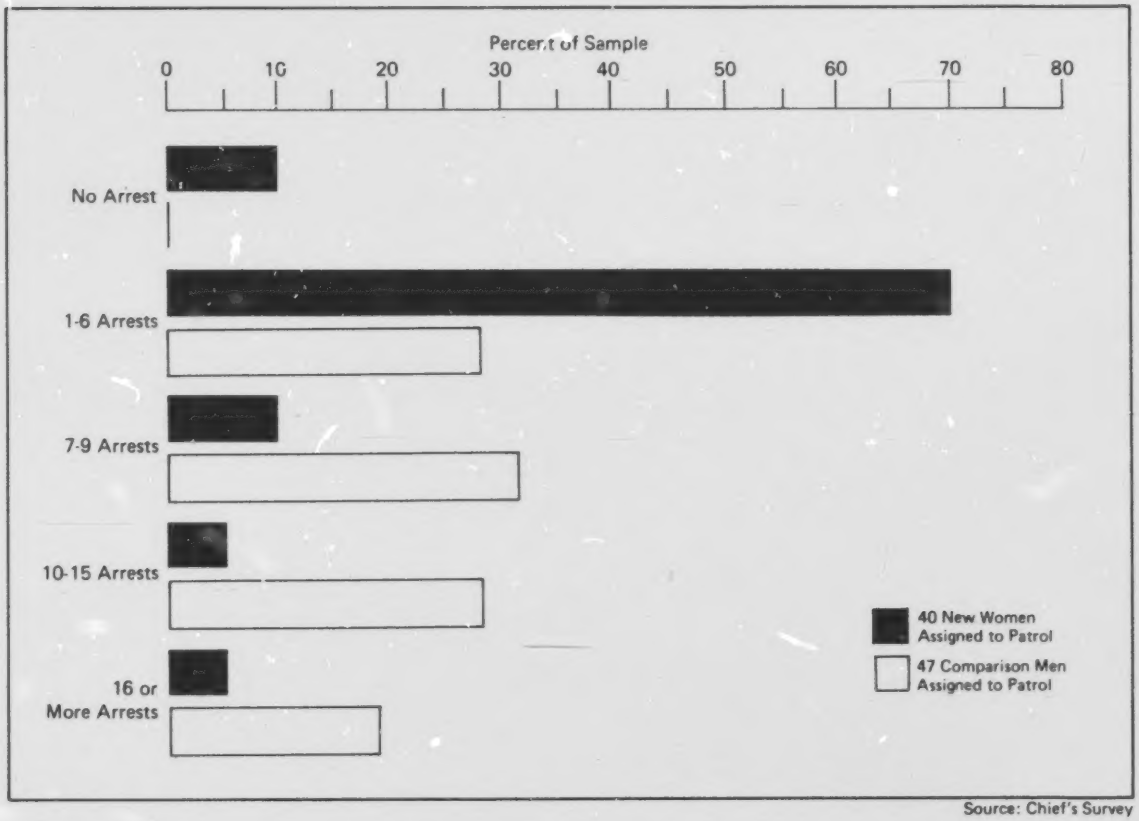
[3] The courts have limited "bona fide occupational qualifications" to two narrowly defined situations. One is where the nature of the job requires a male or female, as in some acting or modelling jobs. The other is where members of one sex are clearly better qualified for a job and an employer has made reasonable attempts to develop selection criteria which would permit the hiring of qualified members of both sexes. Some police departments have already discovered that it is difficult for them to persuade the courts that discrimination based on sex is justified by police work requirements.

Figure 2
MISDEMEANOR ARRESTS DURING FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1973



Source: Chief's Survey

Third: **What effect would the use of a substantial number of policewomen have on the nature of police operations?**

A department with a substantial number of policewomen may be less aggressive than one with only men. Women act less aggressively and they believe less in aggression. The presence of women may stimulate increased attention to ways of avoiding violence and cooling violent situations without the resort to the use of force.

It is important to remember that this is a report on research done within one police department. The female officers and comparison men evaluated here are the product of a society in which both men and women have been socialized in the belief that policing is men's work. In order to be able to interpret the results, it was therefore necessary to obtain an understanding of many factors, among which these were particularly significant:

- How the new women and comparison men were recruited and selected for employment;
- How work assignments for the new women and comparison men may have differed;
- How the districts to which the new women and comparison men were assigned may have differed;
- How the attitudes of co-workers may have affected the new women and comparison men; and
- How supervisors' expectations may have differed for new women and comparison men.

It is also important to remember that different police departments (and even different divisions or precincts within the same department) may use different styles of patrol. Police performance which is acceptable for one style of patrol may be unacceptable for another style.[4]

[4] See James Q. Wilson, *Varieties of Police Behavior*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1968. The styles of policing identified by Wilson may be briefly described as: (1) the watchman style, with emphasis on maintaining order rather than on law enforcement; (2) the legalistic style, with emphasis on arrests and law enforcement; and (3) the service style, with emphasis on pleasing the public and on informal sanctions, such as warnings, rather than on formal sanctions, such as arrests.

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II. MAJOR FINDINGS

A detailed summary of major findings, in the order in which they appear in the text, follows:

ASSIGNMENT

1. New women were assigned to regular uniformed patrol less frequently than comparison men.
2. The type of patrol units to which new women and comparison men were assigned was frequently different. In particular, men were less often assigned to station duty and more often assigned to one-officer cars.
3. New women were more often given inside assignments than were comparison men. Those new women with higher performance ratings tended to be reassigned to an inside assignment. For comparison men, a few men with lower ratings tended to be reassigned to station duty.

PERFORMANCE

1. Comparison men handled somewhat more patrol incidents per tour, primarily because they initiated more traffic incidents (usually, issuance of written citations).
2. New women patrolling alone tended to handle more service calls assigned by police dispatchers than did men patrolling alone.
3. New women and comparison men responded to similar types of calls while on patrol and saw similar proportions of citizens who were dangerous, angry, upset, drunk or violent.
4. New women obtained results similar to those of comparison men in handling angry or violent citizens.
5. Comparison men made more felony arrests and misdemeanor arrests than did new women.
6. Arrests made by new women and comparison men were equally likely to result in convictions.
7. New women and comparison men worked well with their partners in two-officer units. The two partners shared the driving about equally, took charge with about the same frequency, and were about equal in giving instructions to the other.
8. New women and comparison men received the same amount of "back-up," or assistance, from other police units.
9. New women and comparison men showed similar levels of respect and general attitude toward citizens.
10. New women and comparison men received similar performance ratings from the police department in its standard review of police officers after the first year of performance.
11. New women and comparison men were given similar performance ratings in several patrol skills on a special rating form. However, men received higher ratings on their ability to handle various violent situations and on general competence to perform street patrol. (See Figure 3.)
12. Police officials in an anonymous special survey gave new women lower ratings than comparison men on ability to handle domestic fights and street violence, and on general competence. Women were rated equal to men in handling upset or injured persons.
13. Captains and lieutenants gave new women higher performance ratings on a special survey in 1973 than they had in 1972. Their 1973 ratings gave new women and comparison men similar scores on general competence.
14. There was no difference between new women and comparison men in the number of sick days used.
15. There was no difference between new women and comparison men in the number of injuries sustained or the number of days absent from work due to injuries.
16. New women were more likely than comparison men to be placed on light duty due to an injury.
17. There was no difference between new women and comparison men in the number of driving accidents in which they had been involved since joining the police force.

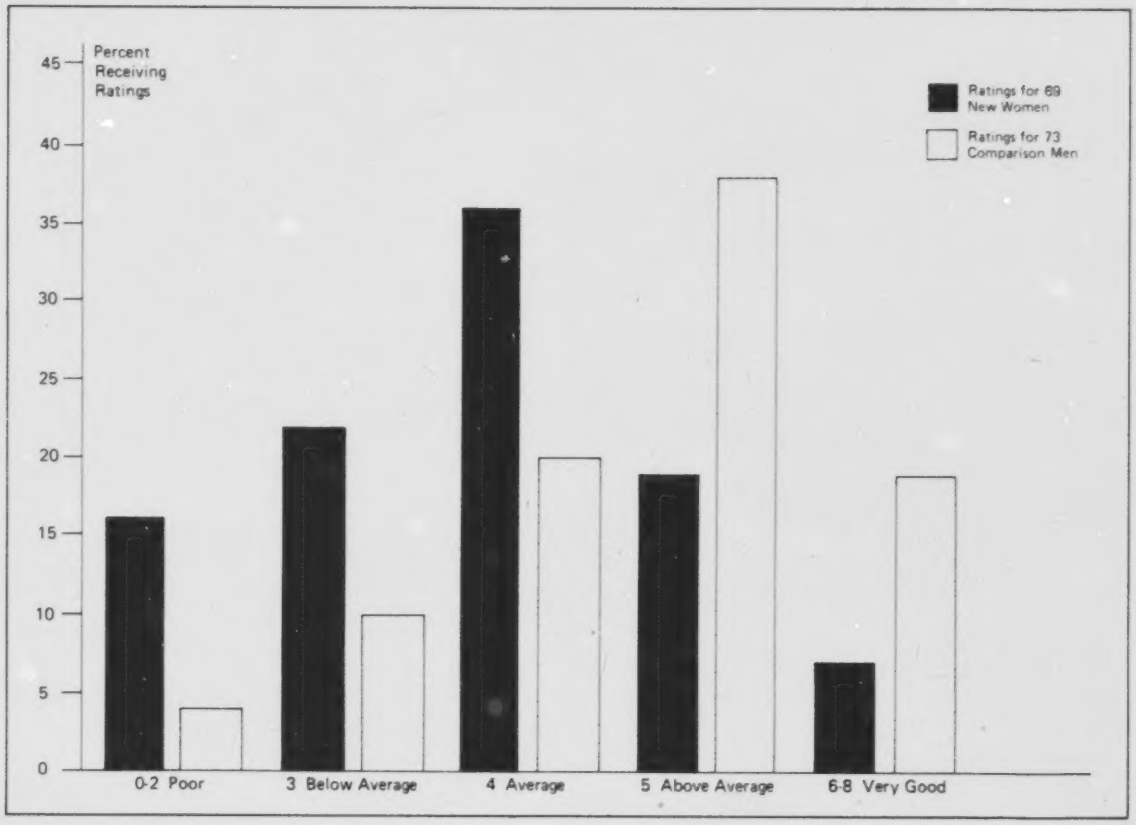
GPO 14

18. New women, on the average, needed two weeks longer than comparison men to pass the police driving test.

19. Comparison men were more likely than new women to have been charged with serious unbecoming conduct.

20. Similar numbers of new women (12) and comparison men (11) have resigned from the police department.

Figure 3
POLICE OFFICIALS ANONYMOUS
AVERAGE OVERALL RATINGS OF NEW WOMEN AND
COMPARISON MEN ON PATROL PERFORMANCE



21. Citizens showed similar levels of respect and similar general attitudes toward new women and comparison men.

22. Citizens interviewed about police response to their calls for assistance expressed a high degree of satisfaction with both male and female officers.

23. Citizens who had observed policewomen in action said they had become somewhat more favorably inclined toward policewomen.

ATTITUDES

Citizen Attitudes

1. Citizens of the District of Columbia, regardless of their race or sex, were more likely to support the concept of policewomen on patrol than to oppose it.

2. Citizens believed that men and women were equally capable of handling most patrol situations, but they were moderately skeptical about the ability of women to handle violent situations.

3. The police department was highly rated by citizens in 1972, and this rating has not been affected by the introduction of women into the patrol force.

Police Attitudes

1. Patrolmen doubted that patrolwomen were the equal of men in most patrol skills.
2. Patrolwomen felt that their patrol skills were as good as patrolmens' in most cases.
3. Police officials were more likely than patrolmen to say that men and women were equally able to handle important patrol situations, but officials were not as positive about patrolwomen's skills as the women themselves.
4. Patrolmen, patrolwomen and police officials agreed that men were better at handling disorderly males, that women were better at questioning a rape victim, and that there was no difference between men and women in skill at arresting prostitutes.
5. Police officials agreed with patrolmen that patrolwomen were not as likely to be as satisfactory as men in several types of violent situations.
6. Patrolmen had a definite preference for patrolling with a male partner. Patrolwomen had a slight preference for patrolling with a male partner.
7. Patrolwomen felt they received a greater degree of cooperation from the public than patrolmen did.
8. Patrolwomen felt that police supervisors were more critical of patrolwomen than of men. Patrolmen felt there was no difference.
9. Black police officials and black policemen were somewhat less unfavorable toward policewomen than white male officials and policemen.
10. Patrolmen assigned to the same two districts as the new women were slightly more negative toward them than patrolmen assigned to the two comparison districts, which had no new women.
11. Male patrol officers who said that women "should not be a regular part of the patrol force" had less formal education and were more likely to believe in arrests as a performance measurement than other patrolmen.
12. Police officials were somewhat more positive toward policewomen in 1973 than they had been during the initial months of the experiment in 1972.
13. There was little change in the attitudes of patrolmen toward policewomen between the start and the conclusion of the experiment.

III. BRIEF STATEMENT OF METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses briefly[5] the sources from which a wide variety of information about the treatment, performance and attitudes of new women and comparison men was obtained. Figure 4 describes these sources.

The most objective information was obtained from 23 male and female observers (both black and white) who rode with these new officers on patrol and recorded the events which occurred and the attitudes and actions of citizens and officers toward each other (*Structured Observation*). The observers were trained by means of discussion groups, training manuals, films of actual police incidents and preliminary observation rides. They recorded their observations on a standardized form. The reports of male and female observers were analyzed separately, and the information obtained was found free from bias due to the observer's sex.[6]

Some performance statistics obtained from police files (*Record Monitoring*) or from the Chief's Survey also were relatively reliable measurements. These included police academy grades, driving test results, number of arrests and moving traffic citations, number of days assigned to various duties within a six-month period, and resignations from the department.

Other information about the patrol performance of new women and comparison men was obtained through a survey of citizens who were directly involved in an incident in which police were called (*Service Survey*). This involved interviews with persons who had been involved in each significant police-citizen encounter reported through Structured Observation. One hundred and thirty-one interviews were completed, and the results of the Service Survey were similar to results found in interviewing 507 citizens for the previous study.[7] These interviews provided an important direct measure of how citizens reacted to seeing new women and comparison men handle patrol assignments.

Another performance measurement was the supervisory ratings given to both groups of new officers. When an officer became eligible for a step increase in pay on the first anniversary of employment, the department rated the officer's performance (*Departmental Ratings*). These ratings are the department's official judgment of an officer's performance. Other ratings were obtained from scales designed by the researchers for the Chief's Survey (in which 71 of the 86 new women and 54 of the 86 comparison men were rated), and from a survey of officials (*Officials' Survey*), at least one of whom rated each of 69 new women and 73 comparison men. Since police officers had been found to have relatively low expectations concerning the performance of new women before women began patrol,[8] it was theorized that officials also might have had an initial bias against the women. For that reason, these ratings were examined to see if, and how, they had shifted between 1972 and 1973.

The surveys and records named above were used primarily to obtain information about the treatment and performance of new women and comparison men. However, the Officials' Survey also provided information about attitudes of officials. The attitudes of patrol officers of both sexes were obtained through surveys and interviews (*Patrol Survey* and *Interviews*) and the attitudes of citizens through a survey of residents (*Community Survey*). A knowledge of attitudes may prove useful in understanding the environment in which the women were asked to perform. Attitudes also may indicate how women are likely to be received in other departments where similar male views prevail.

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[5] Volume II of this report contains a detailed description and analysis of the methodology used to obtain the findings summed up in Chapter II.

[6] See Appendix A for a study of observer bias.

[7] Peter Bloch, Deborah Anderson and Pamela Gervais, *Policewomen on Patrol (Major Findings: First Report, Volume I)*, Police Foundation, February 1973, pp. 24-25.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

STATISTICAL STANDARDS

In this report, a statistical standard has been adopted by which differences are reported as "significant" if they would have occurred by chance only one time in twenty.[9] For critical variables on which only small samples were

Figure 4
MEASUREMENT INSTRUMENTS

NAME OF INSTRUMENT	SAMPLE SIZE	BRIEF DESCRIPTION
Departmental Ratings	80 new women 85 comparison men	Ratings given to police officers on the first anniversary of their appointment and included in their official personnel records.
Chief Wilson's Survey (Form W)	71 new women 54 comparison men	Each district was asked by Chief Wilson to compile relevant statistics and to rate each officer in the sample on patrol skills. This survey was returned directly to Chief Wilson's office.
Structured Observation	41 tours with one woman 12 tours with one man 45 tours with female-male teams[a] 94 tours with two men 1 tour with two women	Observers were hired to ride with women and comparison males and, using a standard format, note what happened, including how officers acted toward citizens and how citizens reacted to officers.
Service Survey	131 interviews	Telephone and personal interviews with people who were directly involved in an incident to which police responded. Purpose: to learn about citizen ratings of police performance and about attitudes toward policewomen.
Community Survey	129 resident interviews	Telephone interviews to determine general citizen attitudes toward policewomen.
Officials' Survey	59 sergeants 25 captains and lieutenants	Anonymous questionnaire for patrol officials. Purposes: Obtain opinions about women and effect on supervisors of work experience with them. Obtain anonymous ratings of new women, reassigned women and comparison men.
Patrol Survey	15 new women 28 comparison men 55 other men	Similar to Officials' Survey, but no ratings of individual women.
Record Monitoring	85 new women 82 comparison men	Analysis of personnel records and civil service scores.
Interviews	20 policemen and policewomen	Confidential discussions with policewomen and policemen, most of whom were interviewed twice.

[a]Includes one tour in which a comparison man worked with a reassigned woman.

[9]The chi square test of the difference between distributions generally was employed. Here, chi square was significant at the .05 level.

available, it is said that there "tends" to be a difference if it would have occurred by chance only one time in ten.[10] When differences are not statistically significant, the groups being compared are said to have been "the same" on that variable.

[10]Chi square was significant at the .10 level.

IV. ASSIGNMENT — DETAILED FINDINGS

The assignment of women to police patrol in the District of Columbia in 1972 was the culmination of a program, begun in 1969, in which the female police officer's role had been enlarged to include all non-patrol assignments, including investigations, morals, tactical and plainclothes squads. Between 1969 and the start of policewomen patrol, some of the department's higher-level officials had become convinced that women could work efficiently in some assignments previously barred to them.

Once Chief Wilson announced the department's intention to hire women for patrol, recruitment advertising was changed to appeal to both men and women. No other special steps were taken to recruit women, but no difficulty was experienced in recruiting them, partly because of the starting salary, $8500 until May 1972 when it was increased to $10,000. This starting salary compared favorably with other beginning salaries available to women with only a high school education.

Police districts 1 and 7 were designated for the purpose of this experiment as *experimental districts*, and as the new women gradually entered the department all were assigned to one of these two districts. This meant that more than 10 percent of the personnel in these districts was composed of women, simulating the proportion of women which might exist generally if the department decided to hire more women and assign them to patrol throughout the city. Comparison men were chosen from men who entered the department at the same time as the women and were assigned to districts 5 and 6 (*comparison districts*).

These pairs of districts were selected because they resembled each other in crime rates and socio-economic characteristics. Nonetheless, the workload in the new women's districts—measured in terms of serious offenses per police employee—was somewhat heavier. (See Table 1.) In theory this represented a greater opportunity for the new women to make arrests than for the comparison men.[11]

On the other hand, it should be noted that one of the women's districts contained a section of commercial businesses and federal office buildings patrolled by one-officer police cars. The comparison districts did not contain a comparable area. Nevertheless, the most reliable statistic on violent crime—the number of robberies—indicated that there were similar numbers of robberies per officer in the experimental and comparison districts.

As the department proceeded to implement its policy of hiring new women and assigning them to patrol, Chief Wilson issued a detailed order on April 15, 1972, to assure that men and women in the department were treated equally. The order required commanders to give assignments to men and women in exactly the same way, including types of assignments (two-officer car, foot beat, precinct station, etc.), frequency of particular assignments, assignments to specific situations by radio dispatchers, and eligibility for reassignment to special units.

The policy of equal treatment for men and women also meant that women received the same treatment at the police training academy. No special efforts were made to orient new women, and there were no special programs of compensatory training for them.

Despite negative and protective attitudes of male police officers, the equal treatment order was reasonably well observed during the first six to eight months of the program. As of October 1972, new women and comparison men were receiving similar assignments (about 54 percent of the time to a two-officer car and 11 percent of the time to a two-officer beat). New women and comparison men were assigned to a variety of high and low crime areas within their districts. The only difference in assignment was that new women got station duty 10.7 percent of the time, or about twice as often as comparison men.

In December 1972 Chief Wilson publicly declared the policewomen patrol experiment to have been a success.

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[11] The Urban Institute, *The Challenge of Productivity Diversity: Improving Local Government Productivity Measurement and Evaluation (Part III.) Measuring Police-Crime Control Productivity*, pp. 57-62.

Table 1
CHARACTERISTICS OF EXPERIMENTAL AND COMPARISON POLICE DISTRICTS DURING FISCAL YEAR 1972*

TYPE OF MEASURE	EXPERIMENTAL DISTRICTS			COMPARISON DISTRICTS		
	First	Seventh	Total	Fifth	Sixth	Total
Workload Measures						
Number of Personnel (daily average)	232	153	385	225	164	389
Robberies per officer	6.8	4.5	5.9	7.0	5.5	6.4
Serious offenses per officer[a]	50.7	40.9	46.8	41.9	34.2	38.7
Assignment Practices						
Percent of Personnel Assigned to:						
Foot patrol	12.5	7.2	10.4	9.3	10.4	9.8
One-officer car	34.0	3.9	22.1	5.7	4.9	5.4
Two-officer car	5.1	50.3	23.1	39.1	45.7	41.9
Casual clothes	14.2	3.3	9.9	11.1	2.4	7.5
Clerical	3.4	9.2	5.7	7.6	4.9	6.4

*As reported by the Metropolitan Police of the District of Columbia in its 1972 Fiscal Year Report.

[a]Criminal homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny and auto theft.

He also announced that men and women would be hired from the same civil service list, and–in April 1973–he made it easier for women to join the department by dropping the minimum height requirement from 5'7" to 5'0".

After December 1972, the special equal treatment order was no longer in effect, and policewomen *as a group* were no longer assured of receiving the same treatment as men. Supervisors were permitted to treat new women as individual officers, and differences in assignment gradually occurred. The program coordinator appointed at the outset of the experiment was reassigned to other duties, and there was no longer any special coordinating mechanism.

A study of assignment in August 1973 disclosed that only 45 percent of the new women remained on regular uniformed patrol compared to 71 percent of the comparison men. Thirty-one percent of the new women, but only 12 percent of comparison men, had been given "inside" assignments (clerical, youth division and community relations). Twelve percent of the new women, but only 4 percent of comparison men, had been given "other street" assignments, including tactical, morals and scooter squads.

This inequality in assignment also was reflected in statistics obtained by the special survey known as the Chief's Survey, in which commanders of districts were asked to indicate daily assignments of officers in the sample during the first half of 1973. As would have been expected from assignment practices in their respective districts in Fiscal Year 1972, new women were found to have been assigned less frequently to two-officer cars (27 percent for women versus 44 percent for men.)[12] New women were also found to have been assigned more frequently to regular station duty (24 percent to 11 percent) and to one-officer foot beats (13 percent versus 8 percent). Although new women were assigned to districts which, taken together, had made relatively greater use of one-officer cars in the fiscal year preceding the experiment, there was a tendency for comparison men to be assigned more frequently to one-officer cars (18 percent versus 13 percent). New women and comparison men were assigned to tactical patrol with about the same frequency (8 percent for women versus 11 percent for men).

The reasons for this difference in treatment were not entirely clear. New women with inside assignments were more likely than women in street assignments to have children (65 percent compared to 47 percent). There was no statistically significant difference between women on inside and street assignments in step-increase ratings for "overall evaluation" (a mean of 5.5 for the former and 5.1 for the latter, where 5 is "average" and 6 is "competent") or "written expression" (5.7 for women on inside assignments and 5.4 for women on street assignments).

From interviews it was determined that some new women willingly accepted inside assignments, while others with inside assignments preferred street patrol. It was not possible to determine whether the high frequency of station assignments was due primarily to the desires of the women or the attitudes of their supervisors.

[12]This relative frequency of assignments to two-officer cars is very similar to the frequency with which officers had been assigned to two-officer cars in the experimental and comparison districts in Fiscal Year 1972 (see Table 1).

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By October 1973 the department had 228 women (69 percent of whom were black), constituting almost 5 percent of the police force. Ninety-eight women (43 percent)–including women hired too recently to be included in this study–were assigned to police districts, and a survey by the department showed that 61 percent, or 60, of these had patrol assignments. Another 9 percent had investigative assignments. Eighty-nine (39 percent) were still assigned to the police academy before receiving their first patrol assignments.[13]

[13]Exhibit A, "Distribution of Females," submitted by Chief Wilson when he was subpoenaed to testify in connection with an equal employment lawsuit in Cleveland, Ohio, October 16, 1973.

V. PERFORMANCE — DETAILED FINDINGS

This chapter examines how new women and comparison men performed their duties as patrol officers and how their performance was judged by police officials and by the public.

It begins with several sections that describe how new male and female officers conducted themselves on patrol, what they encountered on patrol, and what they did about what they encountered. Also discussed are how the new officers of both sexes functioned with partners in two-officer units, and how they responded to citizens generally.

Following these sections, the various types of performance ratings given the new women and comparison men are briefly analyzed.

The next sections deal with some indirect measures of performance on patrol. These include such things as number of sick days taken, number of injuries, number of traffic accidents and instances of unbecoming conduct.

The concluding sections deal with citizen reaction to new women and comparison men on patrol and to citizen judgment of how these new officers handled their assignments.

LEVEL OF PATROL ACTIVITY

In general terms, it can be said that comparison men handled somewhat more patrol incidents than new women. Among one-officer units, for instance, Structured Observation showed that one-man units handled 5.30 incidents per tour, while new women working alone handled 4.22 incidents per tour. Similarly, units composed of an experienced officer and a comparison man handled 5.28 incidents per tour, while units composed of an experienced officer and a new woman handled 4.59 incidents per tour. If the data are combined—that is, if the activity levels for one-man units and two-man units are combined, and if the activity levels for one-woman units and one man-one

Table 2
LEVEL OF PATROL ACTIVITY

TYPE OF POLICE UNIT	NUMBER OF TOURS OBSERVED	DISPATCHED INCIDENTS[a] (Per Tour)	OFFICER-INITIATED INCIDENTS (Per Tour)	TOTAL[b]
One Man	10	2.10	3.20	5.30
		+	*	+
One Woman	42	3.17	1.05	4.22
Two Men	94	2.56	2.72	5.28
			*	+
One Woman-One Man	43	2.45	2.14	4.59

* Significant difference.
\+ Tends to show significant difference.
a Includes incidents in which there was nothing found when the police arrived.
b Excluding six incidents initiated by citizens on the street.

Source: Structured Observation

woman units are combined–they reveal that comparison men handled 5.28 incidents per tour, while new women handled 4.40 incidents per tour. This is statistically significant. Table 2 summarizes the level of patrol activity.

Further investigation revealed why comparison men handled more incidents per tour. Comparison men, either working alone or with an experienced partner, were more likely to initiate a traffic incident (particularly to give a traffic ticket or a warning) than were new women. (See Table 3.)

Table 3

POLICE-INITIATED TRAFFIC INCIDENTS
FOR TWO-OFFICER UNITS

TYPE OF POLICE UNIT	NUMBER OF TOURS	Traffic Tickets (Per Tour)	Traffic Warnings (Per Tour)	Spot Checks (Per Tour)	Total Traffic[a] (Per Tour)
Two Men	94				
Comparison Men		0.30	0.13	0.16	0.73
Partner		0.20	0.19	0.07	0.61
Both Together		0.06	0.04	0.07	0.29
Total		0.57	0.37	0.31	1.63
One Woman/One Man	43				
New Women		0.12	0.05	0.00	0.18
Partner		0.23	0.09	0.09	0.58
Both Together		0.02	0.12	0.00	0.21
Total		0.37	0.26	0.09	1.00

[a] "Total traffic" includes arrested person, other (describe), did not observe enough to judge and checked license or registration.

* Significant difference.

NOTE: Comparison men in two-officer units initiated significantly more traffic incidents per tour than new women did. The two-man units initiated significantly more incidents per tour than the one woman/one man units.

Source: Structured Observation

It is important to note another fact about activity levels. While comparison men were more likely than new women to initiate incidents, new women tended to handle a significantly larger number of calls from dispatchers on the police radio when they were working alone on patrol. As Table 4 shows, new women on single patrol handled 3.17 dispatched incidents per tour, while comparison men on single patrol handled 2.10 dispatched incidents per tour. Since dispatched incidents take longer to handle than traffic stops, the amount of time spent handling incidents was similar for new women and comparison men in both one-and two-officer units (about 106 minutes per tour for the men to handle incidents and about 97 minutes for the women).

TIME SPENT PER INCIDENT

Some police managers believe it is important that officers handle incidents quickly so that they can get "back in service" to handle other calls. As Table 5 shows, men and women were no different in how long they took to handle a police incident.

TYPE OF CITIZEN ACTIVITY ENCOUNTERED

The reader will see, by referring again to Table 4, that the types of incidents encountered by new women and comparison men while on patrol were similar. The only meaningful and consistent difference was that women handled more disorderly or drunk persons than men.[14]

[14] Subsequent to the time that the Chief issued his order requiring equal treatment of men and women, discrimination by dispatchers in the assignment of calls apparently was rare and not a statistically significant occurrence. However, observers reported one tour where a sergeant took over on all serious calls received by a policewoman, another tour in which a policewoman informed the dispatcher there was an observer in the car and received no serious runs, and one instance in which a policewoman was assigned to an "officer in trouble call" (an officer's throat had been cut) and the woman's sergeant came on the air and told her to disregard the call. Some of the observers also felt there had been no discrimination in the assignment of calls.

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Table 4
DISPATCHED INCIDENTS PER TOUR

TYPE OF POLICE TEAM	NUMBER OF TOURS	TYPE OF INCIDENT AS DESCRIBED BY DISPATCHER											
		Nothing Found[a]	Disorderly or Drunk Persons	Theft (including burglary)	Sick, Injured or Auto Accident	Robbery	Public Fights[b]	Investigate Trouble[c]	Assist Other Officers	Auto Damage or Theft	Argument in or Near Residence	Other	Total
One Man	10	0.70	0.20	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.10	0.40	0.30	2.10
One Woman	42	1.09	0.43	0.43	0.36	0.07	0.07	0.00	0.12	0.19	0.10	0.31	3.17 +
Two Men	94	0.87	0.28	0.22	0.34	0.01	0.09	0.13	0.05	0.07	0.19	0.30	2.56
One Woman/ One Man	43	0.56 *	0.56 *	0.35	0.28	0.12	0.09	0.09	0.02	0.09	0.12	0.16	2.44

[a] Includes all calls for which nothing was found.

[b] Described on survey instrument as "major disturbances outside of a residence."

[c] Described on survey instrument as "unspecified with indication of a crime" and as "prowler."

* Significant difference.

+ Tends to be significantly different.

Table 5
AVERAGE TIME SPENT HANDLING AN INCIDENT

TYPE OF POLICE UNIT	NUMBER OF INCIDENTS	AVERAGE (MINUTES)	STANDARD DEVIATION
One Man	55	15.8	15.4
One Woman	170	24.3	30.1
Two Men	487	20.6	31.9
One Woman/One Man	207	19.9	28.1

NOTE: The slightly lower average time for one man compared to one woman was due to his higher incidence of relatively brief traffic stops.

Source: Structured Observation

Structured Observation also was used to determine the emotional state of citizens encountered on patrol. Here no significant difference was found in the number of times new women or comparison men encountered citizens who were either upset, angry, potentially violent, or actually violent. Table 6 summarizes the emotional state of citizens when police arrived.

Table 6
EMOTIONAL STATE OF CITIZENS
ON THE SCENE WHEN POLICE ARRIVED

TYPE OF POLICE UNIT	NUMBER OF INCIDENTS POLICE HANDLED[a]	INCIDENTS WITH CITIZENS' EMOTIONAL STATE PRESENT			
		Upset (not Angry)	Angry (not Dangerous)	Potentially Violent	Actually Violent
		%	%	%	%
One Man	49	27	6	2	0
One Woman	134	23	4	2	1
Two Men	426	20	7	0	0
One Woman/One Man	188	23	11	2	0

[a] These incidents include those to which officers were dispatched, except those in which nothing was found; they also include incidents which were initiated by the officers.

Source: Structured Observation

HANDLING THREATENING BEHAVIOR

New women and comparison men were observed handling 72 incidents (41 by comparison men and 31 by new women) involving either verbal threats by a participant (usually directed at another participant) or more threatening behavior. Table 7 shows how often (in percentage terms) some type of threatening behavior occurred when a new woman or comparison man was on the scene. It also reveals that the presence of threatening behavior and the effect of police presence on that behavior differed relatively little, regardless of the sex of the officers or whether one or two officers were involved.

How well did new women and comparison men handle threatening behavior? One measurement came from the Service Survey, in which citizens were asked to rate patrol officer handling of dangerous, angry or upset people. This

Table 7
TYPES OF VIOLENCE DISPLAYED BY CITIZENS

TYPE OF POLICE UNIT	ALL INCIDENTS, VIOLENT AND NON-VIOLENT[a]	TIME VIOLENCE OCCURRED	OCCURRENCE OF TYPES OF "VIOLENT" INCIDENTS			
			Verbal Threats	Physical Force (no weapon)	Threaten With Weapon	Use of Weapon
	N		%	%	%	%
One Man	49	At Arrival	6.1	0	0	0
		While There	6.1	0	0	0
		At Departure	4.1	0	0	0
One Woman	134	At Arrival	5.2	0.7	0	0
		While There	6.0	3.0	0	0
		At Departure	5.2	2.2	0	0
Two Men	426	At Arrival	6.1	0.5	0	0
		While There	8.0	0.9	0	0
		At Departure	4.9	0.2	0	0
One Woman/One Man	188	At Arrival	8.0	1.1	0.5	0
		While There	9.0	0.5	0.5	0
		At Departure	5.9	0.5	0	0

[a] The number of incidents police handled includes officer-initiated incidents (traffic and non-traffic) but does not include incidents where an officer was dispatched but no officer action was taken.

Source: Structured Observation

survey showed that citizens rated new women about the same as comparison men in handling threatening behavior. (See Table 8.)[15]

A second assessment of the ability of new women and comparison men to handle threatening behavior came from the trained observers. What they observed was that neither men nor women officers had any general advantage in threatening situations. This was evident both from informal interviews with the observers after the formal observation program ended and from the written reports of the observers pertaining to incidents involving some degree of violence or tension. Twenty-nine of the 72 incidents were described by observers in sufficient detail to be described in this report, and 15 of the 29 involved new women.[16]

Below are related, first, the observations recalled during the informal discussions, and then the somewhat more extensive written reports of the 29 incidents. All the incidents involved in informal discussion involved policewomen.

From Informal Discussion

- One policewoman flipped a belligerent, 250-pound intoxicated man over her shoulder and then handcuffed him.

[15] While the distributions are significantly different, the average ratings were different by only 0.4 on a 5-point scale.

[16] The purpose of the Structured Observation was to gather quantitative data for analysis of police performance. For this reason, the information obtained was not always complete in terms of background and details desirable for a narrative description of the event.

Table 8
CITIZEN RATINGS OF HOW OFFICERS HANDLED
DANGEROUS, ANGRY OR UPSET PEOPLE

Q. 23 If you had to rate that particular team of officers, how good a job did they do in dealing with the people who were dangerous, angry or upset? Would you say they were:

OFFICERS	SAMPLE SIZE	CITIZENS' RATINGS					
		Very Good (1) %	Good (2) %	Average (3) %	Poor (4) %	Very Poor (5) %	Average Rating
Males	36	45.7	42.9	8.6	2.6	0.0	1.7
* Females	34	41.2	14.7	35.3	5.9	2.9	2.1
Males with partners	32	46.9	43.8	6.3	3.1	0.0	1.7
* Females with partners	12	58.3	0.0	25.0	16.7	0.0	2.0
Males Alone	4	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	0.0	2.5
Females Alone	22	31.8	22.7	40.9	0.0	4.5	2.2

* Statistically significant difference.

Source: Service Survey

- Another policewoman found a drunk male who became belligerent when asked to get up from the sidewalk. Then, said the observer, the policewoman "kinda charmed the guy" and persuaded him to go to the detoxification center.
- Another policewoman was handling an incident "beautifully," in the words of the observer, as she worked to persuade a drunk to go home with his wife. Then a male officer interceded, putting his hands on the drunk, and starting some pushing and shoving. The patrolman ended up arresting the man and getting credit for an arrest.
- Finally, the presence of a policewoman was very helpful in a situation where a woman under arrest didn't want anybody to touch her and made it quite clear verbally. But "the woman cooled off," said an observer, when the female officer showed that "she was a lady with manners, and the job of searching her wouldn't be degrading or unfriendly."

From Structured Observation

Incidents involving policewomen patrolling alone.

- A policewoman was sent to investigate a fight which broke out when a man tried to throw his son out of the house. When she arrived, both men were upset. The observer reported that the son was potentially violent, although he had no weapon. The verbal battle that took place was watched by about 35 spectators. The policewoman called for help, and two officers responded. The policewoman tried to settle the dispute by listening and talking to both father and son. The son calmed down after the policewoman and one of the back-up officers threatened him with physical force and the policeman threatened to arrest the young man if he didn't settle down.
- A policewoman responded to another incident where a woman had a peace warrant and wanted the police to remove her disorderly husband. According to the observer, when the police arrived the husband was angry and the wife was drunk and upset. However, the verbal battle ended and the level of tension fell as the policewoman listened to the wife and lectured her husband. During the incident, two motor scooter police officers and a scout car arrived, having been sent by the dispatcher because he knew the policewoman was alone.
- Pennsylvania Avenue (a main thoroughfare) was the scene of another incident handled by a lone policewoman. An intoxicated woman was driving with her grandson and an unrelated male passenger when her car collided with a bus. The policewoman responded to the scene of the accident, where she was greeted abusively by

the grandmother. About 20 people watched from the sidewalk. The grandson and the male passenger were neutral observers during the incident. The officer called for and received assistance from a male officer in dealing with the grandmother. The policewomen then took a report of the accident, but she did not make an arrest.

Incidents involving two policewomen.

The following series of incidents were handled by two policewomen. In some cases they were patrolling together; in others, two policewomen patrolling alone were dispatched to the same incident.

- Two policewomen, each of whom had been patrolling alone, responded to an eviction incident. A stepfather was complaining that his stepson, a young man in his twenties, never paid anything for living in his home. The stepfather said he wanted the young man removed. The young man answered that it was his mother's house and he planned to stay, although his mother was not there. According to the observer, both men were upset when the police arrived and became angry as they discussed the situation. The young man became particularly hostile to both the stepfather and one policewoman. Both officers tried just to reason with the young man. Then they threatened to arrest both if they did not settle down. One of the policewomen radioed for and received assistance from two male officers. The young man was told that since he was over 21 he had no legal right to stay in his mother's home. When he became disorderly, one of the policewomen and the two policemen first tried to persuade him to leave the home and then unsuccessfully tried to handcuff him. He ran away, and the officers were unable to catch him.
- Two policewomen patrolling together responded to a call to assist a male officer. Sixteen additional officers arrived at the scene, where the officer had been hit with a bottle. Two youths between the ages of 11 and 17 and their mother were directly involved in the incident, and about 100 neighbors were watching. The observer described the youths as angry and their mother as potentially violent. According to the observer, both the mother and the policewoman were "disrespectful" to each other and the assisting officers greatly increased the level of tension. The incident was resolved when the two policewomen assisted a male officer in arresting the two youths and their mother. The officers used physical force to handcuff the three. Spectators were somewhat hostile to the police in this incident.
- Two policewomen patrolling alone were sent to investigate a dispute involving a married couple. The wife wanted her husband removed from the apartment, which was rented in her name. The husband refused to leave, stating that he paid half of the rent. This was denied by the wife, who produced a receipt which showed that she had paid all the rent. The police listened to both sides of the story, then tried to reason with the couple and finally discussed the legal implications of the situation. Advised that he had no legal defense, the husband left the apartment.
- Arriving at an apartment building to investigate a disorderly call, two policewomen (each of whom had been patrolling alone) found that a fight between two women was already over and each had returned to her own apartment. One woman had a welt on her arm, which she claimed resulted from the other woman hitting her with a stick. The injured woman said that the other woman's children were not kept under control and were bothering her children. The accused woman said she was angry about the first woman being nasty to her children. She claimed that when she went to complain to the first woman, she was threatened with a butcher knife and had to hit the woman with a stick in self-defense. After the policewomen had listened to both sides of the story, they tried to reason with both women. One of the officers told the injured woman that she would need a warrant in order for the accused woman to be arrested. The observer reported that when the police left, the injured woman was still upset but the accused woman (who had not been arrested) had calmed down.

Incidents involving male-female police teams.

Male-female police teams were sent to handle the next eight incidents. In two cases the male officer took complete charge, while in five the officers worked together. In the last case a male sergeant came to the scene and took over while the police team waited outside.

- A couple had been fighting in their home, and the woman wanted her husband removed. During the argument, she had threatened her husband with a knife. When the police arrived, the observer reported that the woman was angry but her husband remained calm. Both officers tried unsuccessfully to calm the woman. A sergeant arrived and all three officers tried to explain the couple's legal rights to them. The incident was resolved with no arrest.
- A male-female team responded to a call to help the tactical squad arrest a stabbing victim, who had in turn stabbed his assailants. The victim was angry throughout the incident and was verbally abusive and threatening. However, his anger was directed toward his assailants rather than the police. Ten to 20 spectators watched in the street as the policewoman helped to arrest the man. He was then transported (voluntarily) by ambulance to a hospital.
- In another family dispute responded to by a male-female police team, the husband had locked his wife out of the house, and the wife's mother (who was outside) had become very angry with her daughter, the wife. Both members of the team stayed outside while a sergeant and another officer took over, trying to calm the wife. The husband was restrained by the male officer who had accompanied the sergeant to the scene. They explained to the

couple that theirs was a civil matter. The observer reported that this information failed to calm the husband and wife, who were reunited in their home but remained upset.

- A policeman and policewoman responded to a call to investigate an incident of a mother angered by the return of her runaway daughter, whom the mother was threatening to beat. When the police arrived, the policewoman took complete charge of the incident and tried to calm the angry and upset mother and daughter. The policewoman reasoned with them and then lectured the girl. According to the observer, this had a calming effect on the mother, but the daughter was still upset when the officers left.
- A neighbor who had loaned a young man some money broke a window while trying to force repayment. According to the observer, the young man and the neighbor remained calm throughout the incident, but the young man's mother was angry. The responding male-female team handled the incident by advising the mother that she would need a warrant to arrest the neighbor for breaking the window.
- A policewoman and a male officer, both of whom were patrolling alone, were called to investigate another incident involving borrowed money. A drunken woman, apparently on the brink of violence, was extremely upset because someone (who was not present) owed her five dollars. When the police officers arrived, the woman's son was with her. Both officers tried to calm and comfort the woman, but the observer reported she was unresponsive. The male officer physically restrained the woman in order to calm her, and the son took his mother away, saying that he would take care of her.
- In another incident, a motel manager called the police because his car had been stolen from the motel garage. A male-female police team went to the motel, then gave a radio lookout. Two more male officers and two detectives responded to the scene. The radio lookout resulted in a male suspect's being apprehended and brought to the motel. Because the policewoman was of his race, the suspect appealed to her for help, despite her hostile attitude toward him. Handcuffing and arrest by the policewoman followed.
- When the male-female team arrived on the next scene, a middle-aged man was using threatening and abusive language as he tried to knock down the door to his girl friend's home. The observer reported that the policeman was hostile toward both parties and the policewoman was hostile toward the man only. The woman appealed to the policewoman for sympathy, saying "You're a woman; you understand what's happening." The man appealed to the policeman in a similar way, despite the policeman's hostile attitude. Although the officers tried to ease the situation and advised the woman that she would need a warrant in order for them to arrest the man, she was still upset when the officers left. The man remained angry.
- The final incident involving a male-female team was initiated by the male police officer and handled entirely by him. According to the observer, the officer and his female partner were stopped at a traffic light when the male officer became interested in a young woman who had stopped her car beside them. He decided to do a traffic check on the girl, who resented it. An argument arose between them and was witnessed by a few spectators, who appeared to be hostile to the male officer. The male officer, reportedly very disrespectful to the young woman when she became angry with him, lectured her and threatened her with arrest. The incident ended when the male officer finished lecturing the young woman and let her leave.

Incidents involving one policeman patrolling alone.

- A policeman was sent to investigate a report that a woman with a gun was threatening a group of children. The woman claimed that the children were breaking into her car. At the scene were the woman, her young daughter, the group of children and their parents. The mother and her daughter were reportedly angry throughout the incident, while the father of the children was calm by the time the officer left. The group of children at the scene stayed calm. The policeman listened to the story as told by the woman, her daughter, and the parents of the children. He then discussed the incident with all of them, and the matter was settled with no arrests.

Incidents involving all-male police teams.

- Two officers on patrol responded to a call that an eight-year-old boy on the way to the grocery store with a friend had been robbed by a drunk. Involved in the incident were the two boys, the victim's father, and the drunk. While the accused man was very angry during the entire incident, the observer reported that the others involved, who were upset during the incident, were calm when the police left. The police chased the drunk, recovered the stolen money, and returned it to the boy.
- Two youths between ages 11 and 17 were seen moving some property, supposedly stolen. The youths, their mother, and their sister were on the scene when police arrived. All were observed to be calm at that time, but one of the boys became violent. The officers used physical force to restrain him. The officers talked with the mother and sister, took a report from them, and then transported the boys, who protested vehemently, to district youth headquarters.
- A group of disorderly youths broke a woman's window. When the police arrived, the ten juveniles as well as the woman, her son, a neighbor, and the neighbor's daughter were threatening each other. The police handled the situation by taking a report and sending the juveniles on their way.
- A young man who had been drinking, his mother, and his girl friend were outside his home when two policemen responded to a disorderly call. The young man was trying to get his car keys from his girl friend, who

thought he was too drunk to drive. The mother was involved because she wanted the girl friend taken away. According to the observer, the girl friend remained calm throughout the incident, while her boy friend abused everyone present. The officers settled the incident by listening and talking to the man, who appealed to one of them for help because he was of the same race.

- In another case, however, an argument between two mildly intoxicated people over car keys resulted in a girl shooting her boy friend in the arm. Present outside a home were the couple and two young boys. The police calmed and comforted the boys and took them home. The girl verbally abused her boy friend throughout the incident and was eventually arrested.
- A family argument took place in an alley behind a liquor store. Two brothers—one drunk, one mildly intoxicated—were fighting and the drunk stabbed the other. Both were hostile, but the officers remained calm in the face of verbal threats. The officers frisked, searched, and handcuffed the hostile attacker and arrested him at the scene.
- A mildly intoxicated and disoriented man who was threatening and verbally abusing his mother caused another incident. The woman asked that her son be removed from her home, where her daughter, son-in-law, and a neighbor also were. According to the observer, only the son-in-law and neighbor were calm during the incident—the woman and her daughter were upset, and the son was angry. The policemen calmed everyone involved and sent the son on his way.
- Two male officers responded to a private residence to investigate a report of a stolen television set. The complainant, a tenant in the home, had been in the hospital for a week and on her return found her television set missing. The tenant's claim that her landlady was at fault prompted the landlady to rip the woman's clothes off and threaten her. When the police officers responded to the call, they were able to calm down both of the women, who were willing to listen while one officer explained to the complainant that this was a civil matter. When the police left the residence, both women appeared to be calm.
- Two policemen responded to an argument between a legally separated couple. When the officers arrived at the home, the drunken man was angry, was using threatening and abusive language and had snatched his wife's pocketbook. The officers were sympathetic toward the woman but were hostile to the man. Both tried to calm both citizens. This had a calming effect on the woman, but the man remained upset. Due to the man's angry and intoxicated condition, the police officers called for and received assistance in handcuffing and arresting him.
- A small vegetable truck was struck by a station wagon as the truck's driver attempted to make a left turn across traffic. The driver and the passenger in the station wagon were observed to be mildly intoxicated. According to the observer, it was unclear who was at fault because the drivers gave different stories and no witnesses came forward. The officers responded to the situation by listening to both sides of the story, lecturing the citizens involved, taking an accident report, and giving tickets to both drivers. The driver of the truck appealed to one of the police officers saying that he couldn't afford to lose his job as a driver.
- A hit-and-run driver was at fault in a second traffic incident. A middle-aged man hit one car, drove away, and within two minutes hit another car. Then he got out of the car and ran. The officers chased and caught the man, who was reported by the observer to be angry, very hostile, and very disrespectful to the policemen. The officers called for and received assistance from an official, three policemen, and one policewoman. The original team of officers then discussed the incident with the accused and the two drivers whose cars had been hit, took an accident report, and with help from the other police officers, handcuffed and arrested the protesting hit-and-run driver.
- A woman passenger was injured in a third traffic incident. Her husband was driving out of a driveway when their car was hit by another car. When the police arrived, they used physical force to restrain the driver of the other car. The officers then advised both drivers of their rights and took a traffic report while waiting for the two cranes and the ambulance they had called.

ARRESTS AND MOVING TRAFFIC CITATIONS

Traditionally, police departments have assessed officers at least in part by how many arrests they make. This method of measuring performance suffers from two important deficiencies. First, police departments rarely determine if an arrest was legal; and second, they almost never attempt to determine if a particular arrest was not only legal but also "necessary" or "desirable" according to defined policy. This study provided an example of a legal but "undesirable" arrest when a male officer intervened after a policewoman had persuaded a drunk to go home with his wife. The male officer created a fracas which wound up with the drunk's being arrested. The male officer got credit for an arrest.

This section presents data on arrests made and citations handed out by new women and comparison men. The statistics are from the Chief's Survey. The section after this one describes the disposition of arrests made by new women and comparison men. It is, in other words, a discussion of the quality of arrests made by the two groups.

During the first six months of 1973, comparison men made more felony arrests than new women (an average of 4.7 for comparison men and 1.4 for new women), more misdemeanor arrests than new women (respective averages of 10.8 and 3.9), and gave more moving traffic citations than new women (respective averages of 49.8 and 20.6). These figures are shown in Tables 9 to 11.

Table 9
FELONY ARRESTS DURING FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1973

GROUP	SAMPLE SIZE	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION					
		No Arrests	1–2 Arrests	3–4 Arrests	5–8 Arrests	9 or more Arrests	Average
New Women (All Assignments)	70	44	39	7	6	4	1.4
* Comparison Men (All Assignments)	53	15	17	25	27	17	4.7
New Women Assigned to Patrol	40	35	43	10	8	5	1.8
* Comparison Men Assigned to Patrol	47	13	19	23	28	17	4.8

* Significant difference.

Source: Chief's Survey

Table 10
MISDEMEANOR ARRESTS DURING FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1973

GROUP	SAMPLE SIZE	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION					
		No Arrests	1–6 Arrests	7–9 Arrests	10–15 Arrests	16 or more Arrests	Average
New Women (All Assignments)	70	19	69	6	4	3	3.9
* Comparison Men (All Assignments)	53	4	28	23	29	17	10.8
New Women Assigned to Patrol	40	10	70	10	5	5	5.2
* Comparison Men Assigned to Patrol	47	0	28	31	28	19	11.4

* Significant statistical difference.

Source: Chief's Survey

Because new women were more frequently given inside assignments, the preceding tables also compare men and women reported to be on patrol assignments at the time the Chief's Survey was taken. On all three arrest and citation variables comparison men had a higher level of activity than new women.

Since white comparison men were found to have made about 40 percent more arrests than their black counterparts, it was thought necessary to compare males and females of the same race on these variables. Compared to white comparison men, white new women made fewer felony arrests and misdemeanor arrests and gave fewer moving traffic citations. Compared to black comparison men, black new women tended to make fewer felony arrests; they made fewer misdemeanor arrests and gave fewer moving traffic citations.[17]

As far as could be determined, the number of arrests made by women was not affected by any failure to give

[17]These comparisons included only those new women and comparison men who had been on patrol 30 percent or more during the first six months of 1973. Comparisons were based on interval means.

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Table 11
MOVING TRAFFIC CITATIONS
DURING FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1973

GROUP	SAMPLE SIZE	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION				
		0–10 Citations	11–40 Citations	41–60 Citations	61 or more Citations	Average
New Women (All Assignments)	69	42	44	12	3	20.6
* Comparison Men (All Assignments)	49	10	31	39	31	49.8
New Women Assigned to Patrol	40	25	63	10	3	22.6
* Comparison Men Assigned to Patrol	43	2	23	42	33	53.0

* Significant difference.

Source: Chief's Survey

women proper credit for arrests in which they participated. This determination was made from 26 observed arrests by two-male teams and seven observed arrests by male-female teams. While the sample was small, it tended to show that two men patrolling together made more arrests than a new women and a male officer. The amount of credit received by the man was similar to the number of arrests made by the officer *plus* half of the arrests made by his partner. The women got credit for only one of the two arrests that they were responsible for initiating.[18]

The responsibility for initiating arrests, and the credit given, are indicated in Table 12.

Table 12
RESPONSIBILITY FOR INITIATING ARRESTS
AND CREDIT GIVEN FOR ARRESTS

TYPE OF POLICE UNIT	NUMBER OF TOURS	NUMBER OF ARRESTS	ARRESTS PER TOUR	RESPONSIBILITY FOR INITIATING ARRESTS				CREDIT
				New Women or Comparison Men	Male Partner	Both	Other[a]	To New Women or Comparison Men
				%	%	%	%	%
Two Men	98	26	0.27	35	23	19	23	48
+ One Woman/ One Man	43	7	0.14	29	43	0	29	17

[a] Other officers at the scene or official at the scene.

+ Tends to be statistically significant.

Source: Structured Observation

[18] The number of observed arrests made by women was too small to determine whether they received full credit for the arrests that they made.

QUALITY OF ARRESTS

To study the disposition of arrests made by new women and comparison men, data tapes were obtained from the prosecutor's management information system (PROMIS) for all arrests for serious offenses[19] made by new women and comparison men for the year beginning August 1, 1972. (See Table 13.) This information on dispositions showed that:

- Men made more arrests than women (this confirmed findings from other data sources).
- Men and women brought similar types of cases (e.g. murder, rape, etc.).
- Cases brought by women were more likely to result in a refusal by the prosecutor to file charges ("no papered").
- While men were less likely than women to have their cases no papered in the initial contact with a prosecutor, they were more likely to have the prosecutor decide to drop the charges at a later stage of the prosecution ("nolle").
- There was no statistically significant difference in the likelihood that cases brought by men or women would result in convictions.

When a prosecutor "no papers," or declines to prosecute a case, the reason for his decision is included in the PROMIS system. The principal differences in the frequency of reasons given for no papers by comparison men (88 no papers out of 296 arrests) and new women (49 papers out of 121 arrests) were:

- Men were more likely than women to have cases no papered because of a missing element of proof or insufficient evidence (32 percent for the men and 12 percent for the women).
- Women were more likely than men to have cases no papered for "lack of prosecutive merit" (35 percent for the women and 16 percent for the men).

Other reasons occurred with similar frequency for men and women. These reasons include non-cooperation by a witness (36 percent), conflicting stories of witnesses (3 percent), a good defense, such as entrapment (7 percent), and unlawful search and seizure (6 percent).

Especially in the light of the information about the prosecutor's reasons for refusing to file charges, it seems wrong to infer that men performed better because they had proportionately fewer "no papers" or that women performed better because they had proportionately fewer "nolles." Although the reason for these statistically significant differences is unknown, a possible explanation is that prosecutors found it easier to refuse to prosecute a female's case (saying it lacked prosecutive merit) than a male's case. (This may be due to the way that male and female officers present their cases to the prosecutors.) As a result, more of the men's cases of doubtful prosecutive merit survived the prosecutor's initial screening. These cases then had to be dropped in the next stage of processing, where a "nolle" was entered.

Before May 1974, when the PROMIS data was made available by the United States Attorney and processed for this study by the police department, arrest dispositions were studied by means of the arrest books kept in each police district. The arrest books primarily are intended to keep track of individuals and are believed to be less accurate than the PROMIS data in studying prosecutor or court dispositions. Five percent of the arrest-book cases examined were found not to have any recorded disposition. Some recorded dispositions, such as "lock-up," indicated that the individual was temporarily detained for a court appearance, but the books did not indicate any further disposition. Furthermore, the inaccuracy of the books was compounded somewhat by the unavoidably error-prone manual data collection procedures. Clerks were given more than 40 officers' names in each district and were expected to record the disposition of all arrests made before July 31, 1973, for all 40 officers.

Using a sample of 100 arrests recorded for each group of officers in police arrest books, the principal statistically significant differences in dispositions between men and women were as follows:

- *A larger percentage of cases brought by new women terminated in a finding of "guilty."* Twenty-two percent of the cases brought by women terminated in guilty findings. These included convictions for eight crimes against property, five aggravated assaults, and two simple assaults. Only 4 percent of cases brought by men terminated in a finding of guilty.
- *Cases brought by men were more likely that those brought by women to have an indicated disposition of "lock-up."* Twelve percent of the cases for men and no cases for women had this disposition. If a substantial portion of these "lock-ups"—two-thirds of which were for property crimes or narcotics violations—resulted in guilty pleas, then the statistical significance of the difference between men and women on findings of guilty would disappear.

Table 14 shows the disposition of the sampled arrests.

In view of the results of the first arrest-book analysis of a sample of only 100 arrests, it was decided to use police data for a further study of arrest quality. The second analysis involved *all* the arrests which the clerks recorded for new women and comparison men, and a list was made of *all* "serious" dispositions, including guilty,

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[19] Offenses for which the maximum penalty is a fine of $300 or less are not included in the PROMIS system. The principal types of arrest that are not included are arrests for disorderly conduct or for municipal code violations, such as permitting a dog to run free without a leash.

Table 13
PROSECUTOR'S DATA ON ARRESTS AND DISPOSITIONS FOR COMPARISON MEN AND NEW WOMEN
(FOR THE YEAR BEGINNING AUGUST 1, 1972)

MOST SERIOUS CHARGE (POLICE OR PROSECUTOR)	SEX OF OFFICER	NUMBER OF ARRESTS	DISPOSITIONS OF CASES				
			Guilty	Not Guilty	Dismissed by the Courts	Nolle	No Paper
			%	%	%	%	%
Murder	Male	2	0	0	0	100	0
	Female	1	100	0	0	0	0
Rape	Male	4	0	0	0	25	75
	Female	4	0	25	0	50	25
Assault With a Deadly Weapon	Male	53	9	4	9	36	42
	Female	18	6	6	11	28	50
Assault on a Police Officer	Male	2	0	0	0	100	0
	Female	0	0	0	0	0	0
Simple Assault	Male	47	26	2	0	40	32
	Female	14	50	0	7	7	36
Robbery	Male	4	0	25	25	50	0
	Female	4	0	0	0	50	50
Burglary	Male	11	36	0	0	36	27
	Female	5	40	0	0	60	0
Illegal Entry	Male	9	22	0	11	33	33
	Female	9	11	0	0	0	89
Stolen Auto	Male	8	0	0	13	25	63
	Female	2	50	50	0	0	0
Larceny	Male	31	29	3	10	35	23
	Female	24	38	0	8	13	42
Receiving Stolen Property	Male	10	20	0	20	10	50
	Female	1	0	0	0	100	0
Destruction of Property	Male	9	11	11	22	33	22
	Female	2	0	0	0	0	100
Illegal Possession of Weapon	Male	50	60	2	4	20	14
	Female	15	67	7	7	7	13
Narcotics	Male	32	13	6	3	44	34
	Female	9	0	11	0	44	44
Prostitution	Male	10	40	10	0	40	10
	Female	6	17	17	17	50	0
Miscellaneous (Gambling, bail violation, forgery, etc.)	Male	12	17	0	25	25	33
	Female	7	29	0	0	29	43
TOTAL	Male	294	26	3	7	34 *	30 *
	Female	121	28	5	7	20	40

* Significant difference.

Source: Prosecutor's management information system (PROMIS) data

Table 14
POLICE DATA ON ARRESTS AND DISPOSITIONS FOR COMPARISON MEN AND NEW WOMEN

OFFENSE	SEX OF OFFICER	NUMBER OF ARRESTS	DISPOSITIONS OF CASES							
			Dismissed, No paper or Nolle	Lock-up	Forfeit	Indicted/ Court	Other Agency	Not Guilty	Guilty	No Disposition
			%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Property Crime	Male	24	42	17	0	17	4	8	8	4
	Female	28	54	0	0	14	0	0	29	4
Disorderly	Male	15	7	0	87	7	0	0	0	0
	Female	21	24	0	62	5	0	0	5	5
Narcotics	Male	12	42	33	0	8	0	0	8	8
	Female	10	60	0	0	10	0	20	0	0
Gun Law	Male	16	56	0	0	19	0	6	6	13
	Female	4*	50	0	0	25	0	0	25	0
Aggravated Assault	Male	8	76	13	0	0	0	0	0	13
	Female	12	25	0	0	33	0	0	42	0
Simple Assault	Male	4	25	0	0	50	0	0	0	25
	Female	9	55	0	0	22	0	0	22	0
Fugitive or Warrant	Male	3	33	33	0	0	33	0	0	0
	Female	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	50
Gambling or Lottery	Male	1	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0
	Female	4	75	0	0	0	0	0	25	0
Homicide	Male	1	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rape	Male	1	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0
	Female	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
Violation	Male	14	0	7	86	7	0	0	0	0
	Female	8	0	0	75	0	0	0	25	0
Assault on Police Officer	Male	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Female	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
All Non-Traffic Arrests	Male	100	34	12	26	13	2	3	4	6
				*					*	
	Female	100	40	0	19	13	0	2	22	4

* Significant difference.

Source: District Arrest Books

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lock-up, or turned over to another agency (another police jurisdiction, military police, mental hospital).[20] Analysis of the complete arrest book data brought the following conclusions:

- *New women were more likely than comparison men to be credited with cases resulting in a finding of guilty.* Twenty-one percent of cases by new women and 8 percent of cases by comparison men resulted in findings of guilt; furthermore, women in each experimental district had a higher percent of guilty dispositions than did men in each comparison district.
- *Comparison men were more likely than new women to be credited with cases resulting in a "lock-up."* Five percent of cases by comparison men and only 1 percent of cases by new women ended in a "lock-up" disposition.
- *Even if all serious dispositions are counted as findings of guilt* (i.e., if it is assumed that all lock-ups and all cases transferred to other agencies result in findings of guilt) *then the new women still are more likely to have their cases result in guilty findings.*

Twenty-two percent of cases brought by new women resulted in serious dispositions, compared to 15 percent for the men.

Because of the comparative quality of the data, the authors accept the conclusions derived from the PROMIS *data and reject the conclusions derived from the police data. Therefore, it is believed that there is* no difference in *the quality of arrests made by new women and comparison men.*

SHARING THE WORKLOAD

Unlike the findings from structured observations in the first phase of this research,[21] no statistically *significant differences were found in this phase in the following areas:*

- *the percentage of time that new women or comparison men drove the police vehicle (43 percent for women and 52 percent for men);*
- *the extent to which new women or comparison men "took charge" in an incident (21 percent for women; 25 percent for men);*
- the tendency of new women or comparison men to give or receive instructions (women gave at least some instructions 41 percent of the time and received some instructions 51 percent of the time, while comparison men gave instructions 38 percent of the time and received some instructions 38 percent of the time);
- the extent to which officers got along with their partners and worked well together (all officers, on the average, got along well and worked well together);
- the frequency with which additional police units actually arrived at incidents.(See Table 15, which shows a high frequency of back-up for all units, particularly for one-officer units.)

Table 15
INCIDENTS IN WHICH ADDITIONAL OFFICERS ARRIVED[a]

TYPE OF POLICE UNIT	NUMBER OF INCIDENTS	NUMBER OF TIMES ADDITIONAL OFFICERS ARRIVED
		%
One Man	17	58.8
One Woman	90	52.2
Two Men	170	43.5
One Woman/One Man	84	41.7

[a] Incidents which were officer-initiated or in which police left the scene without performing any activity were not included in this table. A few incidents in this table were citizen-initiated, and one incident was initiated by a plainclothes officer. When the only additional officer was a detective, and the incident was of such a nature to require a detective, such as burglary or robbery, this incident was considered to have "no additional officers."

Source: Structured Observation

[20] Note that the "court" dispositions can also result in findings of guilt but neither the men nor the women would gain any comparative advantage from having these "court" cases considered as guilty dispositions. The first analysis of arrest-book data (see Table 14) showed that both sexes had 13 percent of their dispositions recorded as "court."

[21] The previous phase reported that women, during their early probationary months, took a "subordinate role," which included taking charge less often and receiving instructions more often than comparison men. *Policewomen on Patrol*, Volume I, pp. 20-21.

OFFICER ATTITUDES TOWARD CITIZENS

New women and comparison men (patrolling in one- or two-officer units) were found to have similar attitudes toward citizens, with an average rating of from 2.6 to 2.9, or slightly positive (on a scale where 1 is very positive, 3 is neutral and 5 is very negative). Negative attitudes (4 and 5) were observed in fewer than 5 percent of the incidents and positive attitudes in more than 20 percent of the incidents. Similarly, officers were "respectful" toward citizens in 29 percent of the incidents, disrespectful in fewer than 4 percent, and neutral in the rest. There was no difference due to the officer's sex.

DEPARTMENTAL RATINGS

When the new women and comparison men were given Departmental Ratings for step increases, there was no statistically significant difference in overall ratings of all officers of both sexes or in any category of rating (new women averaged 5.3 and comparison men 5.5 in overall rating, on a scale where 4-6 meant "effective and competent"). The rating categories were bearing and behavior, human relations, learning ability, knowledge and skill, acceptance of responsibility, written expression, oral expression, and performance of duty.

If the overall ratings for only those new women and comparison men who remained in street assignments in August 1973 are compared, a slightly different picture emerges, with new women scoring 5.1 to 5.6 for the men. This statistically significant result was caused by a transfer to inside assignments of 25 women, whose average overall rating was 5.5 (above average for women) and a transfer to inside assignments of 9 men, whose average overall rating was 4.9 (below average for men).

Since Departmental Ratings were given only once during the period covered by this report, it was not possible to trace any changes that might have occurred during the study period.

CHIEF'S SURVEY RATINGS

In addition to the standard Departmental Ratings, a rating of new women and comparison men on patrol skills was obtained from the specially constructed Chief's Survey. The survey was distributed to police district commanders, who usually delegated their responsibility to the patrol sergeant most knowledgeable about the officer.

It is important to note that this survey (like the Officials' Survey discussed in the next section) had ratings based on *patrol ability*. This is what differentiates these two surveys' ratings from the more general scores found in the Departmental Ratings.

On the Chief's Survey, ratings were obtained for 43 comparison men, 62 new women, and 28 reassigned women.[22] The scale ranged from zero (extremely poor) through 4 (average) and up to 8 (extremely good). Comparison men were rated better than new women on their general performance of street patrol (an average of 5.4 for comparison men and 4.4 for new women), protecting a partner from violence (an average of 6.1 for comparison men and 4.5—still above "average" on the scale—for the new women), handling a public fight (an average of 5.2 for comparison men and 3.9 for new women), and handling disorderly males (5.1 for comparison men and 4.0 for new women).

Note that the ratings do not show dissatisfaction with women, who are generally rated "average" or above. Note also that the reassigned women had higher ratings than both new women and comparison men on dealing with the public (reassigned women averaged 6.0, new women averaged 4.7, and comparison men averaged 4.9).

All groups were rated equally competent (no significant differences) in three areas:

- handling an auto accident involving an injury;
- making a crime report;
- handling a disorderly female.

Table 16 presents all the ratings from the Chief's Survey.

OFFICIALS' SURVEY RATINGS

The Officials' Survey, completed anonymously, gave each official in the relevant police district the opportunity to give performance ratings to each new woman or comparison man about whom the official had personal knowledge. Note, once again, that the Officials' Survey Ratings, like the Chief's Survey Ratings, pertain to patrol ability.

In 1973 captains and lieutenants generally gave the new women better ratings than they had in 1972, but comparison men still received significantly higher ratings from these officials for their ability to handle domestic fights (new women had an average rating of 3.9; comparison men, 4.6). Captains and lieutenants in 1973 saw no difference between men and women in general competence, ability to handle street violence, or ability to handle upset or injured people.

When 1973 ratings by captains and lieutenants and by sergeants are averaged together, new women were rated

[22] A reassigned woman is one hired by the police department before January 1972 and given a previous assignment before being transferred to uniformed patrol.

Table 16

SUPERVISORY RATINGS OF NEW WOMEN, COMPARISON MEN AND REASSIGNED WOMEN

TYPE OF RATING	GROUP	SAMPLE SIZE	SUPERVISORY RATINGS					
			Poor (0-3) %	Average (4) %	Good (5) %	Very Good (6-8) %	Average Rating	GROUP WITH BETTER RATING[a]
Dealing with the Public	Comparison Men	43	2	51	23	23	4.9	Reassigned Women
	New Women	62	7	52	21	21	4.7	Reassigned Women
	Reassigned Women	28	4	21	7	68	6.0	
Handling a Public Fight	Comparison	43	5	30	23	40	5.2	
	New Women	57	23	61	7	9	3.9	Comparison Men
	Reassigned Women	21	14	48	10	19	4.2	Comparison Men
Handling Disorderly Males	Comparison Men	43	2	40	28	30	5.1	
	New Women	57	25	54	11	11	4.0	Comparison Men
	Reassigned Women	21	19	48	14	19	4.4	
Handling an Auto Accident Involving an Injury	Comparison Men	43	0	56	0	35	5.1	
	New Women	56	4	54	20	23	4.7	
	Reassigned Women	19	0	58	21	21	4.9	
Making a Crime Report	Comparison Men	43	0	58	16	26	4.9	
	New Women	60	2	37	18	43	5.3	
	Reassigned Women	26	0	27	12	62	5.9	
Protecting a Partner from Violence	Comparison Men	43	0	23	9	67	6.1	
	New Women	56	13	46	16	25	4.5	Comparison Men
	Reassigned Women	22	14	50	5	32	4.7	Comparison Men
Handling a Disorderly Female	Comparison Men	43	5	49	12	35	4.9	
	New Women	58	10	50	16	24	4.7	
	Reassigned Women	23	9	22	22	48	5.7	
In General, Performing Street Patrol	Comparison Men	42	5	38	14	43	5.4	
	New Women	58	14	52	21	14	4.4	Comparison Men
	Reassigned Women	26	12	50	4	35	4.9	

[a] Significant difference.

Source: Chief's Survey

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as less competent that comparison men on general patrol competence, ability to handle domestic fights, and ability to handle street violence, and equally competent in handling upset or injured people.

The Officials' Survey was completed by 66 captains and lieutenants in 1972 and by 47 in 1973. As can be seen from Table 18, all ratings of new women, including their ability to handle domestic fights, street violence, or upset and injured people, as well as their general competence, improved from 1972 to 1973. Sergeants' ratings did not change from 1972 to 1973.

Table 17
OFFICIALS' AVERAGE RATING BY TYPE OF OFFICER ASSIGNMENT

(0 = unsatisfactory, 4 = neutral, 8 = excellent)

OFFICERS' ASSIGNMENT	NUMBER RATED		PATROL SKILLS RATED							
			Domestic Fight		Street Violence		Upset, Injured People		General Competence	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
SERGEANTS' RATINGS										
Patrol	58	36	4.5 *	3.8	4.7 *	3.3	4.7 *	4.0	4.6 *	3.3
Other Street[a]	4	6	5.0	3.8	6.0	3.3	6.3	5.2	5.8	3.7
Inside[b]	7	14	3.7	3.6	3.7	2.9	3.6	4.3	3.6	3.5
Resigned	5	4	3.0	3.0	3.2	1.8	3.2	3.5	3.2	1.0
All Assignments	74	60	4.3	3.7 *	4.6	3.1	4.6 *	4.2	4.5	3.2
CAPTAINS' AND LIEUTENANTS' RATINGS										
Patrol	56	30	4.7 *	3.9	4.9 *	3.5	4.9 *	4.4	4.9 *	3.8
Other Street	4	5	4.8	4.2	5.0	4.6	6.3	4.8	4.8	4.8
Inside	4	9	3.5	4.1	3.8	4.1	3.4	5.2	3.8	4.2
Resigned	2	3	3.5	3.3	2.5	3.7	2.5	3.7	1.5	2.0
All Assignments	66	47	4.6 *	3.9	4.7	3.8	4.8	4.6	4.7	3.8
ALL OFFICIALS' RATINGS										
Patrol	61	41	4.5 *	3.7	4.7 *	3.1	4.7 *	4.1	4.7 *	3.2
Other Street	5	9	5.2	3.9	5.6	3.7	6.2	4.9	5.4	3.9
Inside	8	16	3.9	3.4	4.0	3.1	3.8	4.4	3.9	3.4
Resigned	5	5	3.4	3.2	3.4	2.6	3.4	3.8	3.2	1.6
All Assignments	79	71	4.4 *	3.6	4.6 *	3.1	4.6	4.2	4.6 *	3.2

* Significant difference.

[a] "Other Street" includes scooter, wagon, morals and crime patrol.

[b] "Inside" includes station, administrative, youth and training academy.

Source: Officials' Survey

Table 17a
RATINGS OF REASSIGNED WOMEN

OFFICIALS	NUMBER RATED	PATROL SKILLS RATED			
		Domestic Fight	Street Violence	Upset, Injured People	General Competence
Sergeants	13	4.4	3.8	4.7	3.8
Captains and Lieutenants	13	4.3	4.2	4.8	4.1
All Officials	18	4.2	4.1	4.6	3.9

Source: Officials' Survey

Table 18
CHANGES IN CAPTAINS' AND LIEUTENANTS' RATINGS

PATROL *SITUATION* RATED	NUMBER OF *OFFICERS* RATED	YEAR	RATINGS OF NEW WOMEN			
			Below Average (0-2)	Average (3-5)	Above Average (6-8)	Average Rating
			%	%	%	
Domestic Fights	66	1972	48	45	6	2.9
	47	* 1973	11	74	15	3.9
Street Violence	66	1972	62	36	2	2.4
	47	* 1973	17	68	15	3.8
Upset and Injured People	66	1972	15	80	5	3.7
	46	* 1973	4	65	30	4.7
General Competence	66	1972	39	59	2	2.9
	47	* 1973	17	68	15	3.9

* Significant difference.

Source: Officials' Survey

USE OF SICK LEAVE

There was no statistically significant difference between new women and comparison men in the number of days of sick leave taken (the average number of days in the past six months was 11 for each) or in the frequency with which women and men used sick leave (6 percent of the men and 11 percent of the women used more than ten days of sick leave).

INJURIES

There was no statistically significant difference in the frequency with which new women and comparison men or their partners were reported to have been injured, according to the Chief's Survey. Forty-four percent of the women and 35 percent of the men were reported to have been injured. This similarity in number of injuries was surprising, since new women were more likely than comparison men to have had inside assignments.

The data on the number of injuries did not, unfortunately, provide any direct measure of the seriousness of injuries. However, the Chief's Survey did ascertain how often officers were absent from work or placed on light duty due to work-related injuries. As shown in Table 19, there was no difference between comparison men and new women in the number of days absent from work due to injuries; however, 24 percent of the new women, compared to only 4 percent of the comparison men, were placed on light duty for more than one day.

Whether an officer was granted light-duty status was a result of the officer's physical condition, his or her desire to apply for light duty, and the willingness of supervisors to accommodate the officer. Which of these factors contributed most strongly to the difference between new women and comparison men cannot be determined from the data.

DRIVING SKILLS

New women and comparison men had a similar number of driving accidents since joining the department, according to their personnel files. Thirty percent of the women and 32 percent of the men had had at least one accident. Three percent of the women and 5 percent of the men had had two accidents.

Table 19
DAYS OF ABSENCE OR LIGHT DUTY CAUSED BY
SERVICE-RELATED INJURIES SINCE JOINING THE DEPARTMENT

GROUP	NUMBER	DAYS ABSENT FROM WORK			DAYS OF LIGHT DUTY		
		0-1	2-9	10 or more	0-1	2.9	10 or more
		%	%	%	%	%	%
New Women	71	73	10	17	76 *	10	14
Comparison Men	54	78	10	12	90	2	2

* Significant difference.

Source: Chief's Survey

It took the new women longer than the comparison men to pass their driving skills test (about 1.5 months from date of appointment for new women and about one month for comparison men).

The driving test includes four precision maneuvering courses, which do not require great speed but which do have time limits. It also includes a simulated emergency run, a skid pan test (in which officers are rated on their ability to execute controlled skids on a slick surface), and an evasive action and controlled braking course. Women had more difficulty than men in completing the precision maneuvering courses within allowable time limits, and on one of the courses they had greater difficulty in braking.

The relative difficulty experienced by new women may have been due to less driving experience than men prior to appointment. It may also be due to somewhat greater use by women of compact cars for personal use, leading to somewhat greater difficulty in handling the full-size vehicles in the police tests.[23]

UNBECOMING CONDUCT

The departmental ratings form completed by supervisors at the end of the officer's probationary year contained a question about unbecoming conduct. An analysis of the comments made in response to this question showed three main points:

- Comparison men were more likely to be engaged in serious unbecoming conduct than were new women;
- Comparison men were more likely to be engaged in total non-tardy misconduct, including both mild and serious;
- New women were more likely to have been noted for being tardy, with no indication that they had been involved in any more serious offense.

Serious misconduct included a preventable traffic accident, failure to maintain patrol of an assigned area, arrest for drunk and disorderly conduct while off-duty, unnecessary unholstering of a gun while "participating in a bit of horseplay," use of a service revolver in violation of D.C. regulations, and false statements to a police official. *Mild misconduct* included failure to hand in a spelling assignment at the police academy, being overweight or underweight (a problem reported only for men), sleeping in police academy class, failure to pay attention during roll call, various deficiencies in record-keeping procedures, one unexplained charge of unbecoming conduct, failure to pass a test at the police academy, failure to attend in-service training, remaining seated in class when ordered to stand at attention, unshaven face, unacceptable hair style, failure to maintain constant care and control of police equipment, unshined brass or shoes, failure to complete driver's education, and failure to stop before going through an intersection with a red light.

RESIGNATIONS

By October 1973, the resignation rate for new women and comparison men was very similar, fourteen percent (12) for the women and 13 percent (11) for the men. Sixty-five percent of this total were black officers, and a larger percentage of the women were blacks. Four males and two females were terminated "in the best interest of the Department."

[23] Telephone interview with Sergeant Steven Pawanda of the Police Academy, assigned to the driver training course, March 12, 1973.

Table 20
REPORTED INCIDENTS OF UNBECOMING CONDUCT

SEX OF OFFICER	SAMPLE SIZE	TYPE OF OFFENSE			
		None	Tardy Only	Mild[a]	Serious[b]
		%	%	%	%
New Women	71	45	30	24	1
Comparison Men	71	31	14 *	38	17 *

* Significant difference.

[a] Forty-eight percent of the mild offenses of the comparison men and 71 percent of those of the new women were multiple mild offenses (an officer was considered to have multiple mild offenses if there was at least one mild and one tardy offense).

[b] Two-thirds of the serious offenses of the comparison men were multiple serious offenses (includes two or more serious offenses or a pattern of misbehavior). The only new woman to commit a serious offense committed only one.

Source: Personnel Jackets: Step-Increase Rating Form

CITIZEN REACTION TO OFFICERS

The general citizen reaction to police service provided by new women, comparison men, or their partners was not observed to differ because of the number of officers in a unit or an officer's sex. Attitudes toward all officers who were observed were predominantly "slightly friendly" (2.7 to 2.8 on a scale where 1 is very friendly, 3 is neutral and 5 is very unfriendly). Unfriendly attitudes (4 or 5) were observed in fewer than 5 percent of the incidents.

The average level of respect shown toward comparison men and new women also did not differ. However, as shown in Table 21, citizens tended to be less neutral toward new women than toward comparison men when these officers were patrolling in two-officer units. Citizens were both more respectful *and* more disrespectful to women.

Table 21
RESPECT FOR NEW WOMEN AND COMPARISON MEN

TYPE OF POLICE Unit	NUMBER OF INCIDENTS WITH VALID OBSERVATIONS	Respectful (1-2)	Neutral (2.01-3.99)	Disrespectful (4-5)	Average Rating
		%	%	%	
Two Men	168	26	70 *	4	2.7
One Woman/One Man	84	31	58	11	2.7

* Significant difference.

Source: Structured Observation

How did citizens react to the approaches (such as conversation, advice or assistance, action, or force) used by new women and comparison men? If citizens are grouped together, the *average* reaction did not differ, although it should be noted that citizen reaction to a new woman with a partner was more likely to be positive or negative than to a comparison man. Table 22 illustrates this.

Table 22
CITIZEN REACTION TO THE USE OF ADVICE OR ASSISTANCE
BY NEW WOMEN AND COMPARISON MEN
PATROLLING IN TWO OFFICER UNITS

TYPE OF POLICE UNIT	NUMBER OF OBSERVATIONS	Positive Reaction (1-2)	Neutral Reaction (2.01-3.99)	Negative Reaction (4-5)	Average Rating
		%	%	%	
Two Men	77	29	64	9	2.7
One Woman/One Man	35	40	40*	20	2.7

* Significant difference.

Source: Structured Observation

In an additional analysis, citizens were separated into categories--complainant, victim, person who was angry or violent, female citizen, youth under 17. When incidents were analyzed only for these types of citizens, no differences of any consequence were found to occur. This means, for example, that female citizens and male citizens had similar reactions to new women and to comparison men.

CITIZEN SATISFACTION

Citizens interviewed in the Service Survey expressed a high degree of satisfaction with the behavior of officers who handled their calls.[24] There were few differences because of the sex of officers.

As in the previous survey, about 70 percent of the respondents rated police as "very good" or "good" in four areas:

- helping sick or injured people;
- handling dangerous, angry, or upset people;
- understanding people's feelings;
- finding out what happened.

More than 95 percent of the respondents said police had been either "somewhat respectful" or "very respectful." Over 84 percent of the respondents either preferred that the same officer or team return if they were needed or said they had no preference. (Sixty-four percent wanted the same officer or team when a comparison man had responded and 49 percent wanted the same officer or team when a new woman responded, but this difference is not statistically significant.)

Persons who had been involved in a police incident handled by a policewoman said she had done a good job (63 percent said she was either "very good" or "good" and 33 percent said she had been "average"). Thirty-eight percent of these people said that their experience with a policewoman had improved their attitude toward women working as police officers (forty-nine percent said it had made no difference and 13 percent said they had become less favorable).

[24] This is consistent with findings in the previous survey, *Policewomen on Patrol*, pp. 24-25.

VI. ATTITUDES — DETAILED FINDINGS

In order to understand the social setting in which a large number of new women police officers began to perform patrol duty on the streets of the District of Columbia, it was considered necessary not only to gather as much factual data as possible but also to gain some understanding of the attitudes of persons involved in this experiment.

Thus, in various ways, attempts were made to elicit the attitudes of police officials, experienced police patrol officers, the new women themselves and the public.

The first section deals with the attitudes of citizens who may or may not have had direct contact with policewomen. Their attitudes were elicited through telephone interviews of 129 citizens who represented all age, sex and racial groups living in the two experimental and two comparison districts. This set of 129 interviews comprised the Community Survey. The second section discusses the attitudes of police officials and officers.

CITIZEN ATTITUDES[25]

The principal findings from the Community Survey, taken after new women had been on patrol work for a year were these:

- Citizens of the District of Columbia generally approved of having policewomen on patrol.
- Citizens believed there was little difference between the performance of policewomen and policemen.
- A positive attitude toward policewomen was shared by all groups, including blacks and whites, males and females, experimental and comparison district residents.
- Citizens tended to favor the women's rights movement.
- Citizens approved of equal opportunity for women in the police force.
- Citizens of the District of Columbia remained moderately skeptical about policewomen's ability to handle violent situations, but they thought a male officer and a female officer working together would be more effective in handling a fight between a male and female citizen.
- In general, citizens gave the Metropolitan Police Department high ratings, which had not been affected by the introduction of policewomen into the patrol force.
- Citizens expected that women would slightly improve on the already acceptable level of respect which male officers showed to citizens.
- Survey findings were similar to results reported a year ago.[26]

Attitudes Toward Policewomen

Citizens were asked whether they had seen a woman police officer in the District of Columbia in the previous six months. Ninety percent reported that they had seen a woman police officer in person (not on television or in the newspapers) during this time.

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[25] Respondents to the Service Survey were asked primarily about the performance of patrol officers, but they were also polled about their attitudes. Generally, respondents to the Service Survey agreed with the statement that "a woman who meets the qualifications should have the same opportunity to be a police officer as a man" (64 percent agreed and 16 percent were neutral). They also tended to approve of policewomen's "doing the same things as a policeman, that is, patrolling the streets and responding to police calls" (49 percent approved and 27 percent were neutral). On the other hand, there was some concern that "if half the police officers had been policewomen, . . . the number of crimes would have been . . . higher." (43 percent thought it would be higher, 49 percent thought it would be about the same and only 7 percent thought it would be lower.)

[26] *Policewomen on Patrol*, Volume I, pp. 28-30.

Asked if they thought a woman who met the qualifications should have the same opportunity to be a police officer as a man, citizens tended to think women should. Forty-four percent said they "strongly agree," 20 percent said they "somewhat agree," 16 percent said they "somewhat disagree" and 14 percent said they "strongly disagree" with the idea. Only 6 percent were neutral.

Citizens also were asked what they thought about policewomen doing the same things as policemen (that is, patrolling the streets and responding to police calls). The average response was between a neutral attitude (23 percent) and a somewhat approving attitude (22 percent). Twenty-nine percent said they "strongly approve."

Citizens believed that "the attempt to get equal rights for women is going . . . about right" (41 percent), and the rest were about equally divided between the opinion that it was going too far and not far enough.

If two people were severely injured in an auto accident, the average citizen thought that a policewoman would handle the accident "about the same" as a policeman. Nineteen percent thought that a policewoman would do somewhat "better" or "much better," while 12 percent thought that a policewoman would do "somewhat worse" or "much worse."

Most citizens (58 percent) believed that a policewoman and policeman working together would handle a fight between a man and a woman about the same as two male officers. However, the rest of the citizens were more likely to say the policewoman and man would do somewhat better (32 percent) than that they would do somewhat worse (11 percent).

Most citizens (71 percent) thought that a policewoman had a slight advantage over a policeman in investigating a crime scene in order to find evidence. Of the remaining citizens, 24 percent said that policewomen would do a "somewhat better" or "much better" job and only 5 percent thought she would be "somewhat worse."

If half of the police officers sent to a street-corner fight among several people were women, the average response was that it would be slightly more likely to get out of hand. Thirty-four percent thought it would make "no difference," 44 percent thought it would be more likely to get out of hand and 23 percent thought it would be less likely to get out of hand. If half of the police officers sent to a riot were women, the average response was midway between an opinion that it would make "no difference" and that it was "more likely to get out of hand."

Asked to think about the number of crimes committed in the District of Columbia the previous year and to speculate on the effect of an equally divided male-female police force, 66 percent of the citizens thought the crime rate would have been "about the same." The remainder of the citizens were a bit more likely to say crime would have been higher than to say it would have been lower. Similarly, most citizens (68 percent) believed that if half the police officers in the previous year were women the number of criminals caught would have been "about the same." The remainder of the citizens thought it a bit more likely that fewer would have been caught.

As a group, citizens believed that policewomen would show more respect than policemen would for people in their neighborhood. Fifty-four percent thought that policewomen would treat people "somewhat more respectfully," and 19 percent thought policewomen would react "much more respectfully." On this question, there was a significant difference due to race, with a higher percentage of blacks tending to think that policewomen would treat citizens "somewhat more respectfully."

Asked how they think their neighbors would treat a policewoman compared to a policeman, the average response was that citizens would show slightly more respect. Forty-eight percent of the citizens said the treatment would be "about the same" and 20 percent said that policewomen would be treated "somewhat more respectfully." Once again there was a significant racial difference in the pattern of responses. Blacks tended to be more favorable and to have more extreme responses. On the positive side, 23 percent of the black respondents said the people in their neighborhoods would treat a policewoman "much more respectfully," while no white respondents felt this way. On the other hand, 10 percent of the black respondents said a policewoman would be treated "much less respectfully" than a policeman, while only 3 percent of the whites thought that way.

Seventy percent of the citizens said they had seen or heard something about policewomen in the newspapers, on radio or on television during the previous six months. When asked if this affected their attitude towards policewomen, 63 percent said it made "no change" and 34 percent said it made them feel "more favorable" or "much more favorable."

When asked if they knew or had talked to a policewoman in the District of Columbia or had seen a policewoman handling an incident during the previous six months, 33 percent said "yes" and 67 percent said "no." Forty-three percent of the men but only 22 percent of the women said they had this kind of contact with a policewoman during the previous six months. Two possible explanations for this difference are that men may be more likely than women to notice female police officers, and men may be more likely to be outside their homes and therefore have more opportunity to notice policewomen.

Direct contact with policewomen resulted in a somewhat more favorable citizen attitude toward women working as police officers. While 51 percent said the contact resulted in "no change" in attitude, 44 percent reported a "more favorable" or "much more favorable" attitude.

Attitudes Toward Crime and Police

Citizens in both the experimental and comparison districts were asked how safe it was for a 20-year-old man to

walk home alone in their neighborhood after dark. Twenty-seven percent said it would be "fairly dangerous" and 49 percent said it would be "fairly safe." For a middle-aged-woman, the same walk home along after dark was considered "fairly dangerous" by 32 percent and "fairly safe" by only 34 percent.

Asked how good a job they thought the police were doing to help keep their neighborhood safe, the majority of citizens responded that police performance was average or above ("good," "very good"). However, responses from black and white respondents differed significantly. Ten percent of the black citizens rated the job the police were doing as "poor" and only 14 percent rated it as "good." No white citizens rated police performance "poor" and 35 percent rated it "good."

Asked how good a job they thought the police would do if they personally had to call the police to handle a situation, 45 percent of the citizens felt the job would be "average" and 45 percent said it would be either "good" (24 percent) or "very good" (21 percent). Citizens thought that it would take an average of 14 minutes for police to arrive in response to a call. Sixty percent of the citizens thought it would take police from one to ten minutes, while only 7 percent thought it would take over 30 minutes.

Fifty-three percent of the citizens reported that police officers treated people in their neighborhood "somewhat respectfully." Sixteen percent said officers treated the people "neither respectfully nor disrespectfully" and 22 percent said police treated the people "very respectfully."

POLICE ATTITUDES

A survey of the attitudes of police officials, male police officers, and new women patrol officers was considered important for several reasons.

Obviously, the attitudes encountered by new women on the part of males in the department might have had an effect on the performance of the new women. Furthermore, the attitudes of the males themselves toward a significant number of new women assigned to patrol, in a considerable departure from past practice, might have had an effect on the performance of the male partners working in the same districts as the women.

A third reason for surveying attitudes was to help other police administrators considering the implementation of similar programs to anticipate resistance that might develop in their departments.

Police attitudes in the District of Columbia toward the introduction of women into patrol work were obtained in a variety of ways. The attitudes of police officials were obtained through the Officials' Survey. (In that survey, officials also gave new women and comparison men patrol ratings, which were discussed in chapter V, Performance.)

The attitudes of male patrol officers were obtained in two ways—through the Patrol Survey, where male patrol officers answered written questions, and through confidential personal interviews. The attitudes of new women patrol officers were elicited by the same means.

Patrol Skills

In Table 23 will be found the opinions of police officials, male patrol officers, and new women patrol officers on the percentage of officers of each sex considered satisfactory at various patrol skills. The summary section of that table shows how the three groups (officials, male officers and female officers) thought men and women compared in handling these various skills. The figures shown in that table are worth special mention.

The three groups agreed in their views of three skills. They all agreed that men were better at handling disorderly males, that women were better at questioning a rape victim, and that there was no difference between men and women in skill in arresting prostitutes.

In four skills officials agreed with the police*men* that men would be better than women. These four skills were handling victims of an armed robbery, dispersing a group of noisy juveniles, handling a situation when someone has a knife or gun, and handling a drunk. The women disagreed here, saying there was no difference in the skill with which men or women handled these situations.

In five skills, however, officials agreed with police*women* that there was no difference in skill due to sex. These were the settling of a family dispute, getting information at the scene of a crime, handling disorderly females, cruising and observing, and handling traffic accidents. For each of these skills, however, patrol*men* maintained that men were better than women.

Regarding the final skill, writing reports, policewomen felt that women were better. Officials and male officers saw no difference.

The general conclusions that can be drawn from the table are that after women had been in the department for a year, patrolmen doubted that patrolwomen were the equal of men in performing most patrol skills. Patrolwomen, on the other hand, believed their patrol skills were, for the most part, as good as patrolmen's, and in a few cases, better. Officials took a position between the two, neither as skeptical as patrolmen about patrolwomen, nor as favorable as patrolwomen.

Policewomen's Effect on Violent Situations

Officials and patrol officers were asked their opinion of the effect of the presence of a woman on the outcome (including the risk of injury to officers) of two potentially violent situations:

Table 23

PERCENT[a] OF OFFICERS WITH ONE YEAR'S EXPERIENCE BELIEVED "SATISFACTORY" AT PATROL SKILLS

SKILLS	SEX OF OFFICERS EVALUATED	GROUP GIVING RATING			SUMMARY OF VIEWS
		Officials (N=84)	Patrolmen (N=82)	Patrolwomen (N=14)	
		%	%	%	
Questioning a Rape Victim	Women	66 *	75 *	85 *	All groups say women better.
	Men	39	50	48	
Writing Reports	Women	67	71	79 *	Officials and men say no sex difference; women say women better.
	Men	60	68	60	
Arresting Prostitutes	Women	48	57	70	All groups say no sex difference.
	Men	45	58	70	
Settling Family Disputes	Women	57	59	71	Officials and women say no sex difference; men say men better.
	Men	59	68 *	64	
Getting Information at Crime Scenes	Women	50	56	71	Officials, women say no sex difference; men say men better.
	Men	54	68 *	64	
Handling Disorderly Females	Women	49	53	71	Officials, women say no sex difference; men say men better.
	Men	57	63 *	64	
Cruising Around and Observing	Women	55	60	82	Officials, women say no sex difference; men say men better.
	Men	65	73 *	76	
Handling Traffic Accidents	Women	61	66	78	Officials, women say no sex difference; men say men better.
	Men	71	78 *	76	
Handling Victims of an Armed Robbery	Women	55 *	49 *	60	Officials, men say men better; women say no sex difference.
	Men	66	67	66	
Dispersing a Group of Noisy Juveniles (ages 9-12)	Women	49 *	43 *	58	Officials, men say men better; women say no sex difference.
	Men	67	73	67	
Handling Threatening Situations Where Someone Has a Knife or a Gun	Women	32 *	31 *	53	Officials, men say men better; women say no sex difference.
	Men	60	68	60	
Handling a Down and Out Drunk	Women	48 *	34 *	81 *	Officials, men say men better; women say no sex difference.
	Men	81	81	85	
Handling Disorderly Males	Women	35 *	28 *	52 *	All groups say men better.
	Men	69	75	72	

*Significant difference.

[a] The percent of officers rated "satisfactory" was indicated on the questionnaire by placing a mark on a line labelled zero percent on the left end of the line, 50 percent in the middle and 100 percent on the right end. Answers were coded into 9 categories (0-9), and average scores were converted into equivalent percents.

Source: Various

(1) A man and a woman, both experienced patrol officers, are working together as partners. They respond to a disorderly call and find three people fighting. Do you think the situation would be different *because one officer is a woman rather than both being men?*

(2) A man and a woman, both experienced patrol officers, are working together as partners. They respond to a "man with a gun" call. As they enter the apartment, a woman points to a man about 15 feet away and says, "That's him—he pointed a gun at me." He is still holding the gun at his side. Do you think the situation would be different *because one officer is a woman rather than both being men?*

Officials and male officers thought that the presence of a woman would be somewhat detrimental. They thought it would be somewhat more likely that people would continue fighting in the first situation (an average response of 3.1 on a scale where 0 is "much more likely" people will continue fighting, 4 is no difference, and 8 is "much less likely" people will continue fighting). In the second situation, they thought it would be slightly more difficult to calm the situation down (an average response of 3.5 on a scale where 0 is "much more difficult" to calm the situation down, 4 is "no difference," and 8 is "much less difficult."[27] Female officers thought the presence of a woman would be slightly advantageous in both situations (an average response of 4.5 in the first situation and 4.4 in the second).

Male officers and officials also felt that both the female officer and her partner would be somewhat more likely to be injured (in both situations) than if two male officers had responded (average response of 3.1, where 0 is "much more likely" to get injured, 4 is "no difference," and 8 is "much less likely" to get injured). Women thought that the presence of a woman would have the effect of improving the safety of both officers slightly over what it would have been if two males responded (average response of 4.3).

On another question, officials and male officers thought that policewomen would cause "the level of tension . . . at a riot situation" to be slightly increased (average response of 3.4, on a scale where 0 is "greatly increase" the level of tension, 4 is "no difference," and 8 is "greatly decrease" the level of tension). Female officers thought there would be a very slight reduction in the level of tension (average response of 4.2).

Attitudes Toward Policewomen On Patrol

Police officials and male officers said they had a definite preference for patrolling with a male rather than a female partner (average response of 1.2 for the officials and 1.7 for the males, on a scale where 0 is "strongly prefer a man," 4 is "no difference," and 8 is "strongly prefer a woman"). Women also showed a slight preference for a male partner (average response of 3.4).

The following question was asked as an indicator of the strength of sex bias in the department: *If you told your fellow patrol officers that you had a female partner who you thought was a better police officer than many male officers, what percent of them do you think would believe you?* Both women and men agreed that fewer than half of their fellow officers would believe them (average response of 3.1 for the females and 3.2 for the males, on a scale where 0 means none would believe, 4 is 50 percent, and 8 is 100 percent). Officials thought about half of their fellow officers would believe them (average response of 4.2).

Female officers said their husbands would not care whether they patrolled with a partner of the opposite sex. Male officers expected little opposition from their wives.

Asked whether it was "a good idea to have women as a regular part of the patrol force," 55 percent of the officials, 48 percent of the male officers and 79 percent of the female officers said "yes." In explaining their answers, some respondents who thought women should be in the patrol division said that women's duties should be restricted and that women should remain a small proportion of the uniformed patrol force.

The responses of officers to two open-ended questions were analyzed to determine what traits or skills of women were thought to be particularly valuable to the patrol division.[28] If an officer mentioned a trait or skill in response to either question, the response was counted.

The traits most frequently mentioned were "skilled at paper work" (mentioned by 24 percent of all respondents), "skilled in handling females" (mentioned by 22 percent), and "skilled in handling children" (mentioned by 14 percent).

Asked for their suggestions for improving the policewomen's program, 37 percent did not respond, 20 percent suggested that women be given limited or special functions, 11 percent recommended better training in the academy or on the job, 7 percent said to discontinue the program and 6 percent said to treat women equally. Twenty-five percent gave various other answers.

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[27] There was no difference between black and white officers on responses to this question.

[28] They were asked: Please explain your answer to question 104 (do you think it is a good idea to have women as a regular part of the patrol force; and, how would you improve the policewomen's program?).

Patrol Officer Attitudes Toward Public

Patrolwomen reported greater cooperation from the public in obtaining information about a crime than did males. Females thought the public was somewhat cooperative (average response of 4.8, on a scale where 0 is "very uncooperative," 4 is "neutral," and 8 is "very cooperative"), while males thought the public rather uncooperative (average response of 2.9). Black males found the public somewhat more cooperative (average response of 3.5) than did white males (average response of 2.4).

In the previous month, according to male officers, they were on the average insulted 11 times, complimented 5 times, and threatened or attacked 1.5 times (scores of 30 or over on insults or compliments were counted as 30 and scores of 10 or more attempts were counted as 10). For the same period, female officers reported 6 insults, 7 compliments, and 1.3 attempts or threats of injury. (Differences on insults, compliments and threats were not statistically significant.)

In Table 24, the officers' responses to part of a question about arrest activity is shown. While there were no statistically significant differences between male and female officers in the number of arrests they thought should be made, the women indicated a lower level than did men.

Table 24
NUMBER OF MISDEMEANOR ARRESTS AND MOVING TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS CONSIDERED "ABOUT RIGHT" FOR AN OFFICER TO GIVE IN ONE YEAR

TYPE OF ACTIVITY	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	AMOUNT OF ACTIVITY "ABOUT RIGHT"							
		0-5	6-20	21-50	51-100	101-800	Over 800[a]	Aver-age	Median
		%	%	%	%	%	%		
		RESPONSES BY MALES							
Misdemeanor Arrests	58	3	33	19	17	0	19	215	35
Moving Traffic Violations	59	3	0	5	23	36	17	284	105
		RESPONSES BY FEMALES							
Misdemeanor Arrests	8	0	38	62	0	0	0	24	18
Moving Traffic Violations	8	0	0	25	25	50	0	142	113

[a] Responses includes responses that officers could never make too many arrests in one year.

Personality Traits

Officials and patrol officers were asked to indicate the percentage of those male and female officers with any of 12 traits: calm and cool in tough situations, courageous, persuasive, commands respect from the public, physically strong, understanding (compassionate), thinks and acts decisively, aggressive, observant, emotionally stable, intelligent and a good leader. Then respondents were asked to indicate up to six of these traits they thought very important to a good patrol officer. Officials, males and females agreed that "calm and cool in tough situations" was the most important trait, followed by "thinks and acts decisively," and "observant" (tied for second and third). Officials and male officers listed "emotionally stable" and "intelligent" as important traits. Women listed "understanding" as an important trait.

Male officers thought that men and women were equally likely to be calm and cool in tough situations, but officials thought that men were more likely to have this important trait. Officials and male officers agreed that men were more likely to think and act decisively, to be observant and to be emotionally stable. Men credited women with being slightly more intelligent and understanding.

Females thought that women were slightly more likely to be calm and cool in tough situations, and somewhat more likely to be decisive, observant, emotionally stable, intelligent and understanding.

Patrol Officer Interaction With Supervisors

Female officers said that their supervisors, on the average, were more critical of patrolwomen than of patrolmen of equal ability (average response of 6.1, on a scale where 0 is less critical, 4 is the same, and 8 is more

critical). Women also felt that officials gave more useful job suggestions to patrolwomen than they did to men of equal ability (average response of 4.9, on a scale where 0 is women get many more job suggestions, 4 is no difference, and 8 is women get much fewer job suggestions), that equally performing women got worse ratings than men (average response of 2.6, where 0 is much worse than the men, 4 is no difference, and 8 is much better than the men), and that their supervisors understood their job-related complaints more than half the time. Nearly all (93 percent) of the women reported talking regularly to a sergeant, compared to only 62 percent of the men (this difference was statistically significant).

Men thought there was little or no difference in the amount of criticism given to policewomen or policemen, or in the frequency with which supervisors gave job suggestions to men or women (average responses of 3.9 and 3.6). They also thought that women who did the same job as men received somewhat better supervisory ratings (average response of 4.5). Given the conflicting opinions of the men and women, it is difficult to determine whether their attitudes about their superiors were justified.

Racial Difference In Attitudes

As reported previously,[29] a smaller percentage of black than white officers would have excluded women from the patrol division. In this survey, 43 percent of the black males and 57 percent of the white males said it would not be a good idea for women to be part of the patrol force. Furthermore, black males had less preference than whites for patrolling with a male partner. Black men thought that, if half the patrol force were women, it would have less effect on their job than did white males. Black men were also more likely than white males to credit females with ability to command respect, physical strength, decisiveness, aggressiveness, intelligence, and good leadership.

But while black males had more favorable attitudes than white males, they should not be characterized as welcoming women into equal status. They preferred a male partner (2.5 on a scale, where 0 is strongly prefer a man, 4 is no difference, and 8 is strongly prefer a woman), and they thought their jobs would be harder if half the force were women (2.4 on a scale, where 0 is much more difficult, 4 is no difference, and 8 is much easier).

Similarly, black officials were more favorable toward policewomen than were white officials. For example, 82 percent of the black officials but only 48 percent of white officials said women should be a regular part of the patrol force.

Male Attitudes In Experimental Vs. Comparison Districts

Similar to findings in the first phase of this study,[30] males in comparison districts were slightly more favorable than males in experimental districts to women on patrol. Men in comparison districts were less likely than men in experimental districts to believe that:

- There was a difference in the ability of men and women to handle "threatening situations."
- There was a difference in the ability of men and women to handle disorderly females.
- Women were more capable than men in handling disorderly females.

Experimental men revealed a stronger belief than comparison men that these traits were more likely to be characteristic of men than of women:

- thinks and acts decisively,
- persuasive,
- observant,
- emotionally stable,
- a good leader.

Other Differences In Attitudes

Men who said that women "should not be a regular part of the patrol force" differed from other patrolmen in two ways. First, they had less formal education. Second, they were more likely to consider arrests a good index of police performance.

Male officers were asked to express their preference between two groups of officers, one of which had a comparatively high annual activity rate of four felony arrests, 12 misdemeanor arrests and 65 moving traffic violations. The other group had a lower annual activity rate of three felony arrests, eight misdemeanor arrests and 33 moving traffic violations. Respondents with scaled ratings of 0-2 were considered to have a strong preference for the high activity group, on a scale where 0 = definitely prefer the high activity group, 4 = no preference and 8 = definitely prefer the low activity group. Sixty-six percent of those opposed to women on patrol and 33 percent of those in favor of women on patrol had a strong preference for the high activity group.

[29] *Policewomen on Patrol*, Volume I, p. 35.

[30] *Policewomen on Patrol*, Volume I, pp. 43, 46.

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Table 25
CHANGES IN OPINIONS ABOUT THE ABILITY OF MEN AND WOMEN TO HANDLE 13 DIFFERENT PATROL SITUATIONS

GROUP	YEAR OF SURVEY	SAMPLE SIZE	PERCENTAGE RESPONSES[a]					
			Women Better	Men the same or a trifle better	Men Somewhat Better	Men Much Better	Men Clearly Better	Average
			%	%	%	%	%	
Officials	1972	85	14	8	33	28	16	16 (men somewhat better)
	1973*	76	21	20	36	12	12	10 (men somewhat better)
Male Officers	1972	82	11	10	20	23	37	21 (men much better)
	1973	78	22	12	17	17	33	17 (men much better)
Female Officers	1972	29	45	21	17	17	0	0 (no difference)
	1973	14	64	14	14	7	0	4 (women a trifle better)

*Significant difference.

[a] For each of 13 patrol situations, respondents indicated by a mark on a line, the percentage (from 0-100 percent) of females and, on an identical question, the percentage of males who could handle the situation satisfactorily. These lines were given scaled scores of 0 to 8 and the score for females on each question was subtracted from the scores for males. Then the scores for all 13 situations were added and each officer's response was classified as follows: Women better (-23 to -1), men the same or a trifle better (0 to +6), men somewhat better (+7 to +16), men much better (+17 to +27) and men clearly better (over 27).

Changes in Attitudes

Some of the more important questions in the attitude survey were analyzed to see whether officials or officers differed in their attitudes from 1972 to 1973, perhaps as a result of their increased exposure to policewomen. Judging from all the attitudes that were compared, there was very little change in attitude from 1972 to 1973, with no important changes among the male officers and with officials having only slightly more favorable attitudes toward women.

For all of the situations on which they ranked men and women, the officials' average opinion changed from 1972 to 1973 from a firm opinion that men are "somewhat better" to an opinion that there was somewhat less difference. (A statistically significant difference, see Table 25.) Furthermore, as Table 26 shows, officials had become slightly less likely to think that their job would be harder if half the officers in the district were women. Officials had also become somewhat less likely to think that males have an advantage over women in "handling drunks" or "handling threatening situations where someone has a knife or gun." (See Table 26.)

Table 26
STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN OFFICIALS' OPINIONS
(Officials' Survey)

QUESTION	YEAR OF SURVEY	SAMPLE SIZE	RATING CATEGORIES		
			More Difficult	About the Same	Easier
			%	%	%
If half the officers in your district were women, how would it affect your job?[a]	1972	89	76	22	1
	1973	83	57	42	1
			Women Better	No sex difference or men somewhat better	Men clearly better
			%	%	%
Handling drunks[b]	1972	88	1	31	68
	1973	80	1	51	48
Handling threatening situations where someone has a knife or gun[b]	1972	88	6	40	54
	1973	80	5	60	35
			More Characteristic of Women	No sex difference or somewhat more characteristic of men	Much more characteristic of men
			%	%	%
Commands respect from the public[b]	1972	7	7	45	48
	1973		15	56	30

[a] The range of permitted responses was from 0 to 8. 0 was labelled (on the survey) as "much more difficult," 4 was "about the same," and 8 was "much easier." Scores of 0-2 are summarized in this table as "more difficult," scores of 3-5 as "about the same," and scores of 6-8 as "easier."

[b] The range of permitted responses was from 0 to 8. The score for females was subtracted from the score for males; negative scores are called "women better" for patrol situations, and "more characteristic of women" for the traits; scores of 0 to +2 are called "men the same or somewhat better" or "somewhat more characteristic of men" and scores of +3 to +8 are "men much better" or "much more characteristic of men."

Source: Officials Survey

VII. POLICE SPEAK OUT

Multiple choice questions, valuable in eliciting information or attitudes, of necessity are designed to summarize the respondent's story.

The full story can best be understood in the words of the respondent. This research project was designed to give room for the stories of the respondents, particularly police officials, patrolmen, and new women officers.

On the Officials' Survey and the Patrol Survey, certain questions were asked with sufficient space allotted for the answers, in hopes that respondents would express themselves fully. Police officials and male patrol officers took greater advantage of the chance than did new women, many of whom resented the close observation and questionnaire-taking that this evaluation study required. But the women (as well as the male patrol officers) who were interviewed personally and confidentially did eventually say some of the things that were on their minds. This chapter presents some of these views.

The chapter begins with the written answers of police officials to questions on the Officials' Survey, starting with the answers most favorable to policewomen and ending with those least favorable. The written answers of male patrol officers in the Patrol Survey are arranged in the same way. Then come a few answers written by the policewomen.

The second and concluding section of the chapter, entitled Interviews, gives the verbal answers of seven policewomen and five policemen to certain questions.

The quotations comprising this chapter are not verified accounts of facts. They represent personal opinions and are helpful in understanding the attitudes which prevailed in the District of Columbia police department.

ANSWERS OF OFFICIALS

Official #1

Policewomen tend to be easier to supervise. They tend to be more obedient. Their report writing is far superior, on the average, and reviewing reports is a large part of my work. They generate fewer citizen complaints. On the negative side, they are harder to motivate to aggressive patrol and tend to abuse sick leave.

Policewomen are a good source of personpower and will make effective officers after a policewoman role model is developed and provides examples for new policewomen.

Official #2

I find that a great many male officers are of substandard quality in the areas of intelligence, fundamental knowledge (such as ability to write, spell, punctuate, etc.), commitment to community, work habits and dress. If the female officers actually worked at being sloppy, illiterate and inefficient they could not be worse. To be brief, I feel the intelligence and commitment of several female officers to be in refreshing contrast to the crybaby attitude of many males.

I believe in some instances the female officers shame their male counterparts into doing some work, cleaning up their appearance, improving their vocabulary, and increasing their knowledge of fundamentals such as report writing, interviewing, etc. If the females served no other function–and they do–this would justify having the female officer in the patrol division.

I would assign more of the policewomen to duty alone, both in one-officer cars and in foot patrol. This will tend to increase their resourcefulness as to observation, increase their confidence in themselves, and, in some who are timid or inhibited in the areas that require more aggressive enforcement, this would improve their performance. Assigning the policewoman with a male officer in many instances, I believe, causes her to feel that the supervisor thinks she is inadequate to perform her duties and that any action she does initiate must be scrutinized by "male

presence." She finds herself waiting many times for the male officer to initiate enforcement action, an action which in many instances today never occurs. A glaring example is the existence today of "bicycle gangs" which congregate on most city streets in such numbers, and violate the traffic regulations with such flagrance and frequency that in many areas it is practically impossible to operate a motor vehicle with any degree of safety. These traffic offenses are completely ignored by the overwhelming majority of male officers as being beneath their dignity to enforce. The women question this and are met with ridicule from fellow officers and supervisors alike.

Official #3

Maybe by the year 2000 society will have matured to the point that the sex of an officer is immaterial, but between now and then we will have to feel our way. Women who are natural "tom-boys" and grew up in a situation where they were expected to carry their share of the load–physical or otherwise–and who have the personal courage and determination to face the many obstacles which are thrust before them in this male-dominated field can make it and be an asset as a police officer. Those who come to the field from pink cushions, stars in their eyes, for the money, or because it looks glamorous, either won't make it or will be a hazard to work with.

Recruiting must be more careful and selective with women. In our society, men are trained from infancy to take the dominant role in physical situations. Women are trained to let them and then only step in when they have to. When a woman goes into patrol work not only does she have to accomplish a cultural role-reversal within herself, but she also has to demonstrate her ability to do so to and for her comrades and the citizens when she meets the appropriate situations. She has to learn that there are times when decisive, immediate physical action is necessary. Before this time (except frontier or war situations) such action was left to the men. Selection, retraining and acceptance will take time and should not be approached with a "50 percent quota now" attitude.

I think there are many obvious reasons why women are an advantage in the patrol division, so long as they are picked carefully and trained well.

I would consider changing the policewomen's program by changing the 5'7" height standard, which is discriminatory–especially for women. However, there are too many physical situations in patrol where the small person is at a disadvantage. I know, I try harder. Got to. I am short.

Official #4

If half of the patrol officers were women, I think my job would be more difficult because most women have not been in the military service. Most women are not used to taking orders that are given in a para-military organization. I think that a lot of them resent taking orders.

I think it is a good idea to have women as a part of the regular patrol force because many times in family situations they are more sympathetic and compassionate. In many instances, they may be able to prevent a situation from escalating because of their understanding.

Official #5

My job would be somewhat more difficult because women would need increased hours of instruction. Women are very good in youth division, missing persons assignments, station duty, etc.–but not as regular patrolmen.

Official #6

Women patrol officers in a 50-50 ratio to men would result in less productive law enforcement in the District. Women are not aggressive and tend to lay back and act as a ride-along or report taker. I would be forced to use close supervision to instill a sufficient amount of motivation for them to perform.

Women have been conditioned since childhood to play the feminine role. The traits inherent in being feminine do not adapt to the general scope of aggressive police patrol. Only in recent years has "women's lib" begun to raise questions about the female role in society and my observation has been that women who become police officers feel they have accomplished their objective by being sworn in and wearing the uniform and are not highly motivated to become good police officers.

Official #7

Women officers involved in a physical struggle are more susceptible to sustaining an injury and also have a greater tendency to abuse sick leave then the average male officer. Therefore, if 50 percent of the patrol force were women, it would be much more difficult to accomplish the required tasks.

If we hire women to be police officers then they should be treated in the same manner as we treat male officers. I don't think we should have a special policewomen's program since we don't have a policemen's program.

I also would like to object to parts of the attitude questionnaire because, in many instances, the questions are vague and seem to avoid an honest and factual evaluation. In particular, I had difficulty saying whether I prefer a man or a woman for a partner because this would depend on which man versus which woman. Similarly, the question on whether height is important in police work would depend on whether we are comparing 5'8" to 5'5" or 5'8" to 3'8".

Official #8

If half the officers were women, I am sure the morale of the males would be affected. The men would not feel as secure as if they were working with another male. I think the public also would feel let down. I myself as a first-line supervisor cannot honestly say that females are able to handle all patrol division functions properly on a regular basis. They are just not physically strong enough.

Yes, I feel females should be included as part of the regular patrol force. There are certain occasions when the presence of a female officer would be a great advantage—particularly in dealing with a female prisoner, female sickness, childbirth and so forth. They are most helpful in searching female prisoners. Some juveniles are more willing to talk to female officers than to males. Sex crime cases certainly could be aided by use of female officers. They can be used most effectively in traffic control and issuing of violation notices.

Official #9

Most women panic easily and have neither the courage nor physical strength to make an arrest unless they are backed-up by a man. When working alone, women almost never make any type of arrest. Ninety-nine percent of our women police are just social workers picking up 26 checks a year and alleviating the welfare rolls.

For the reasons I have just mentioned, the women are a tax burden to the District of Columbia and they are needed only in selected police jobs. I have only known of one woman who is functioning in the same manner as a good police officer and who makes physical arrests without a male being present.

ANSWERS OF MALE OFFICERS

Officer #1

As a group, I have found female officers to be more intelligent and questioning. They are less quick to anger (or so it appears), but are somewhat less decisive when an instant decision is required. They are almost useless in a fight, but do not seem to get into situations where a brawl develops (which is to their credit). They deal better with, and can get more information from a female complainant, particularly in serious crimes or incidents (e.g. robberies, rapes and serious injuries).

My suggestions for improving the policewomen's program apply to both male and female officers. One, before they are assigned to patrol they should have a better knowledge of law, police regulations, and report writing procedures. Two, have newly assigned officers work with one experienced officer for a minimum of six to twelve weeks (to include making all court appearances, same days off and no leave or separation from that officer, if possible). Three, require a two-week period in the station to gain insight into the overall picture of what goes on in the entire district.

Officer #2

I feel some women police officers are capable of handling the duties of patrol work because being a man or woman does not determine your skills for a certain job. It is the person and his physical and mental abilities. (I base this answer and all other answers only on the female police officers that I have worked with and talked with.)

I feel there is room for improvement in any program, but as to the policewomen's program, I cannot think of any type of improvements at this time.

Officer #3

A woman would be good in some situations as a patrol division officer. An example would be if the parents of a house full of children were locked up or if the children were abandoned. The patrolwoman would be able to take charge of the children.

A woman also would be good at handling elderly people who are senile or lost. They could question the victim of a rape more easily. Women could converse more easily in a rape situation than if a man were asking the questions. They are also useful for on-the-scene searches of female prisoners. They are useful on raids of premises where females may be found.

I have no idea of how the policewomen's program can be improved.

Officer #4

I think it is a good idea to have women as a regular part of the patrol force, but if they get the same wages they should get the same duty assignments as males.

I have no comment on how to improve the policewomen's program.

Officer #5

Women should not be a regular part of the patrol force because the patrol division deals mainly with the public and its daily problems, good or bad. The majority of these problems do present a bad situation most of the time. There are a few women who could possibly fit in the patrol division but, rightly speaking, there aren't too many females who can handle themselves or situations when things get tough.

Officer #6

Policewomen have an important role in the police department, but not on uniformed patrol. Policewomen are needed as sex squad investigators, in accident investigation units, as clerks in district stations, in youth division, in internal affairs (investigations of misconduct within the police department) and in many old-clothes or tactical units.

I would improve the policewomen's program by taking the women out of regular uniformed patrol and letting them do jobs they are better suited for.

Officer #7

Of the policewomen I have had experience with on patrol duty, only five percent have the ability to do street work. On the other hand, policewomen have the ability more than a policeman to do office work or station work and to enable the department to bring the policemen out onto the streets where they belong.

Improve the policewomen's program by weeding out the policewomen on the street that don't even know what they are there for. I would also work on the men that were in the same category.

Officer #8

Women should be used in places their bodies and minds are suitable for—youth aid, station personnel, captain's clerks, administrative and morals.

If I had the responsibility, I would choose the women according to the jobs and assignments that they are suitable for. I would set up a program that would place the right women in the right places.

Officer #9

Policewomen have not proved themselves in the Seventh District (which has about 50). They are not stable, strong or emotionally ready to take the hours and abuse from the public. They belong in an office where they can do administrative work. They also can be assigned to the juvenile squad and the sex squad.

Officer #10

I feel at this time that the female police officer should be assigned to station work and to searching female prisoners. I feel that in some situations on the street they come in handy, but I feel at this time that if I had to work with one in a scout car my life would be in danger, almost all the time.

Improve the policewomen's program by taking women off the street.

Officer #11

Most policewomen are in for the money. Take them out of the patrol division.

ANSWERS OF FEMALE OFFICERS

Female Officer #1

Policewomen should be in the patrol division because most of the calls are family-related situations where women are involved. The presence of a female officer relieves tension and the women or children involved are given someone to relate to. I have found in my experience on the street that this is true.

Many of the male officers don't acknowledge those on the street, but I have found that a friendly gesture brings good public relations. People wave to me first and say hello. Before, people would ignore you.

Children aren't as reluctant to approach a police car when a woman is aboard. The men too are more friendly. The only problem I've faced on the street involved female teenagers and they could give a damn about no one but themselves regardless if you are male or female.

Female Officer #2

Women are useful when questioning rape victims. Women who have been raped will talk easier to policewomen about the situation because they are women too.

In family situations, the female officer can help to talk to the lady in family problems and a lot of times she can talk to the male just as easily.

The female officer is inclined to be more compassionate than her male partner and the given situation may be easily resolved when understanding comes with compassionate thinking.

Being observant is one of the female's greatest assets. A female hardly misses anything.

A lot of times a female officer is not only able to be cool, calm, and persuasive with "disorderlies," but she can also help to do the same with her male partner.

Juveniles show a lot of respect toward the female officer who reflects a mother image, which most juveniles need. Understanding works great for juveniles.

Female Officer #3

Women are not effective on the street. A majority of the women are unable to make decisions on their own. Many lack confidence, and it is apparent while on patrol.

Women could be used to their fullest capacity in either administrative or investigative work.

INTERVIEWS WITH WOMEN AND WITH MEN IN EXPERIMENTAL DISTRICTS

Female Officer A

Women definitely differ in their approaches to certain situations. They have to, because they can't handle situations with the same physical authority as men can. My usual approach is to talk to a person, and if talking does not seem to be working, then I just don't bother. The citizens seem to respect this and do what I ask. Men are always *telling* citizens what to do. The women usually *ask* the citizens to do something.

I was given an inside assignment in October 1973, and I appreciated the change in assignment, primarily because it was a regular thing–rather than being shifted from assignment to assignment–and because it is an assignment for which I am qualified.

The women in the Department are over-spotlighted. If we could just be let alone we would perform better. It's always, "Who's looking at us now? Who's in the paper now?" That kind of thing really wears you down after a while.

Female Officer B

Most of the time I have been assigned to a wagon. Generally, I think men and women are pretty much treated equally around here. However, if a male-female team is in an incident, the man usually takes charge. If an officer is 10-99 (patrolling alone) the dispatcher will send the officer to a call but he will also send back-up.

I do have a personal complaint because I applied for assignment to a special unit and was refused because I might be hurt.

I think women are more likely than men to try to reason rather than threaten. In one particular incident, two men were fighting and my male partner goes into the fight with them. The next thing I know the man was beating up my partner, so I go in it to try to pull the man back. One of the men saw that I was a woman, so he said, "I don't want to hit a policewoman." On the other hand, men and women tend to view policewomen as just another officer.

I have handled two "man with a gun" runs. The first time my male partner took the gun away. The second time I did.

In the second incident, we responded to a "man with a gun" call and started questioning the woman in the house. I thought the neighbors were looking very funny, so I started asking them questions. They said the man standing next to me had a gun. As I slowly went toward the man, I yelled to my partner to grab him and–as the man reached for his gun–my partner grabbed his arm and I knocked the gun away.

Although the woman's approach to a situation is usually to try to reason rather than be aggressive, my female partner and I recently received a "disorderly" call and we had to get very pushy with the citizen. My partner yoked the citizen and ended up arresting him.

Female Officer C

Recently, I was patrolling 10-99 (alone) and was assigned to a shoot-out between two sets of brothers. Two cars were assigned but we rolled up first. I drew my gun and cautiously walked into the room because the dispatcher had said the man who did the shooting was still there. In the room, one man lay dead on the floor and another lay shot in the hand. I looked for the man who did the shooting, saw him running down the steps and ran after him. Unfortunately, he got away.

In family disputes, women do better than men, especially if the dispute is between a man and a woman. We also are alert to some things that escape the men. For example, my partner and I responded to a call for an unconscious lady in a parking lot. When we got there my partner right away said she was drunk and I should send her to detox. He said to call the wagon. I came over and saw she was pregnant, so we took her to D.C. General hospital, where they found her to be both pregnant and a cancer victim. Taking her to detox would have been a terrible mistake.

There is absolutely no favoritism in this District. If there were, the men would complain. They start complaining before something happens if they think it is going to benefit the women and not them.

Citizens don't react much different to policewomen than to policemen. I do get a lot of comments like "Good evening" and "Why don't you smile?"

In my district (south Anacostia) there are few critical incidents for women to prove themselves in. There is little or no "real crime" comparing my district to others. Most of the crimes are burglaries, and even these are way down. Occasionally there may be a rape or even a murder. The murders usually are committed elsewhere and the bodies dragged into our area. There are quite a few domestic fights and disorderlies, but when crime is compared to three years ago, it's almost all gone in this district.

Female Officer D

I have been on administrative duty since January 1973 because of pregnancy and I plan to stop working one month before the baby is due. I have noticed that a lot of women cannot handle situations as well as men, who are bigger and stronger. However, there is no preferential treatment and I have done my share of foot beats, squad car beats and wagon assignments.

I think policewomen definitely are more respectful to citizens than policemen are. Citizens don't seem to care whether you are a woman, though. They just look at the uniform and start fighting. At first, when women were new, it may have been different. But no longer. To the average citizen, a police officer is just a police officer.

When I joined the force, I decided there was so much crime in the street that it was no more dangerous to be a cop than a citizen. At least I would have a gun. Now I find that I love patrol work and I can't wait to get back after the baby is born.

[After the baby was born, Officer D was reinterviewed:]

I've only been back from maternity leave for one week. I've been on the street twice, with no critical incidents to tell about. I'm working in the station today, but I don't expect that to be permanent. I am not asking for inside duty and neither are most of the women. However, some officials think of themselves as protecting the women. They do not want women getting hurt. One sergeant did say he thought women are holding up pretty well out on the street.

Female Officer E

One incident I handled involved an MO (mentally disturbed person). My partner, who was also a woman, responded with me to this call, where a woman had assaulted her husband, cutting off his ear with an ash tray. When we got there, the woman started ranting and raving, screaming and throwing things at the children. Another police team—a man and a woman—were already on the scene. I noticed that the disturbed woman did not like the other female officer, who I told to go back outside. Then my partner took the mother outside and I talked to the children, telling them that their mother was not feeling well. Then I went outside with my partner to talk to the woman. We told the mother that the children were upset and her husband was upset because she (the mother) wasn't feeling well. I told her the family wanted her to go to the hospital so she could feel better. The woman then willingly went with us to St. Elizabeth's, which admitted her.

I believe that the police team that was already there was only antagonizing the mother and making her more upset. We succeeded by being calm and not being antagonistic.

Shortly after this incident, I was assigned to station clerk school and I have been assigned to the station even though I want to be out with the people like I once was. Station duty is part of the job, but just part of it.

I also remember a "disorderly male" call where me and my female partner found a sergeant and lieutenant already at the scene. A man was knocking wildly at a neighbor's door because he said he thought his wife was in there. The officials checked the home and, not finding the wife, sent the man home. Shortly after, they were called back to the same scene—not just once, but twice—with the man still beating wildly on the door. So I stopped and told the man that we had checked the house and his wife definitely was not in there; and that if he didn't stop banging on the door I'd have to take him to the station. Then the sergeant chimed in, sarcastically, "Goddammit, she is not playing; she'll lock your ass up if you don't stop that noise." Well, I think the man had already calmed down and the sergeant just made things worse by butting in.

I don't think the dispatcher or anyone else ever stopped me from an incident because I was a woman. If I was riding alone, they'd send backup, but that is s.o.p. (standard operating procedure).

The biggest difference between men and women is that the women use their own judgment rather than just going by the book. I, for one, try to be objective—especially in a family fight. Often I find it easier talking to the man than the woman. It just depends on who they are. However, I usually make a special effort to talk to the children.

One minor problem is the way the emblem on our hats is on the large part of the forehead and presses there, hurting our heads. Some women also make it tough for themselves because they don't want to ask men to stop the car so they can go to the rest room.

[When Officer E was reinterviewed, she said:]

Now I'm assigned to the station and I don't really know how it happened. I had worked in the station as many well-rounded officers try to do and when I was asked whether I wanted to go to station-clerk school, I just thought it would advance my knowledge and would be a good thing to do. Since I've gotten back, I've been very upset because they only give me station work and I like patrol better. However, I like the station work and I might even have chosen it, but they never gave me a choice.

I think I was a good patrol officer, and both the men and women here also seemed to think so. (The researchers verified this in interviews with some of the men.) I also don't think women are asking for inside jobs. One woman now on street patrol is also good at working with office machines and typing. She is repeatedly asked to work in the station. Each time she refuses. Generally, women have worked out on the street and there have been no serious cases of inadequacy or scandal. Some women have been injured, but usually not seriously.

When I was on the street, I never got overly excited or cursed at citizens, I talked *with* citizens—at their

level—and not *to* them. With my uniform off, I am just like everyone else. I don't need to flaunt my authority the way some men think you have to. Being agressive is not synonymous with authority.

Female Officer F

I'm now assigned to crime patrol, including scooter, which I love, scout car and foot beats. I like to be out there with the people.

One incident which the guys around here blame me for involved a security guard and another white male officer holding onto a black girl in a department store and arguing with each other. The police officer tried to put cuffs on the girl, who fought back. Then both men put her on the floor and got the handcuffs on her. The unnecessary force infuriated me and I told the officers they didn't need the handcuffs and then I took the cuffs off. By that time, the girl had an asthma attack and I suggested calling the ambulance. The male officer said no. Then the girl's sister came to the scene and when she wanted to fight the male officers I grabbed her and tried to calm her down. Meanwhile, someone got some asthma medicine for the girl and an ambulance was called. The girl's sister started to fight again and the officer maced her and took her to the precinct. As it turned out, the girl the officers had been arguing about was the *wrong girl.*

All officers are treated equally; otherwise, the men would complain. Well, maybe women are allowed to go to school a little more easily.

In one incident, my male partner blew up a minor incident involving a little boy until it became an officer-in-trouble call. Instead of trying to explain to the boy and his parents that the boy was breaking the law, the male officer tried to stop him in a way that antagonized the parents. It developed into a brawl, which infuriated me.

When I get involved in a dangerous situation, citizens—especially men—always seem to want to help, even if it isn't really dangerous. I haven't had any trouble with criminals, especially women. They are glad to see a policewoman. Truants also seem to listen to me. I tell them they should be in school and that they are missed in school and they never give me any trouble.

The only problems with the policewomen program are minor. Policewomen can now transfer to the district they want or can go to school and train for the particular job they are interested in. The only problem is that the blouse is too short. Even if you order a blouse two sizes too large, it is still too short.

Female Officer G

In most family situations, the female has more finesse and the female influence goes over better. In some situations, men are better, particularly in handling fights and shoot-outs, where a woman might be quicker to shoot than try to fight. I agree with the other women that there is no favoritism around here, and I also think the uniform looks like it was just slapped together and turns out baggy and not looking neat.

Male Officer A

I have patrolled with policewomen countless times. There is no incident that particularly comes to my mind, but I think of the woman's approach as just sitting in the car while her partner does it all. In another district, I heard about a fight breaking out and a male officer getting hurt while the policewoman in the car just sat there. All she did was call for help on the radio.

I think men and women are treated the same, but men riding alone get back-up less often than women riding alone. Men get back-up only when they request it.

I think women hang around family disputes more than a man. The man will handle it and go. The woman will get sympathetic. Once there was a family dispute call where me and my partner had to go back three times. The policewoman with me just made things worse by mouthing-off at the man. The fourth time we went back, the woman had stabbed her husband.

Basically, I think women-on-patrol is good policy but the policewomen should be treated exactly the same. For example, at one roll call, a sergeant said, "All right, you guys," and one of the policewomen said she was no "guy" but a "woman." The sergeant said that as long as she had a blue uniform she was a guy, and the woman became very upset. However, most of the men don't think that way. They still don't let women pick up heavy things or stay alone in a room with a suspect.

Male Officer B

I have patrolled with women many times and think they generally make good partners. Women sometimes will be women. They'll talk a lot, fail to pay attention to what's going on around them, and just stand and watch when something has to be done to solve a problem.

I haven't seen anything which a woman didn't handle. I think they are better at family disputes than men. They size up a situation and handle the problem. One of my partners was the kind of a person citizens don't bother. She's aggressive and can take care of herself. If I had a permanent female partner, she'd be the one I'd want.

When women first patrolled, they were shifted off dangerous calls. Now they send women on any call, even if the woman is alone. I don't think they send back-up to an officer unless it is requested.

In some family situations, women may automatically take the woman complainant's side of the story and men will be more objective, trying to listen to both sides.

One thing I'd like to have is a short-sleeved shirt like the women have. I'd also like to see the women who can't hack it taken off the street. Most women are better inside or in community relations, youth division or things like that.

Male Officer C

In one traffic stop where I had a female partner, I asked the driver for his license and registration and when he didn't find his license I had to take him to the station. The driver's friends said he wasn't taking the "brother" anywhere. The men in the car threatened me if I dared touch him. Other citizens who passed by tried to take the driver away from me. Luckily, a wagon arrived at the scene to help take the citizens involved to the station. All my partner did was sit in the car. She claimed she tried to call for help.

When policewomen first went on patrol, they were too proud to call for help and made some big mistakes. Once, two policewomen were called to a holdup and a second car was also dispatched. The two policewomen never showed up.

Once some citizens backed two policewomen against a wall, where they couldn't call for help. Eventually, some bystander called for help and the women were freed.

Every officer has his own approach, but when there are a man and a woman at the incident, she will step back and let him handle it. Citizens are favorable, but they laugh sometimes. Juveniles like the policewomen, but a man in a family dispute won't listen to one at all. The man, especially if he's been drinking, will look at the policewoman and say, "Who are you? What are you doing here? What have you got to do with this?"

In my district, women get any call that men do. At first, women were given preference for scout cars and men had to walk. Now things are more equal. As far as days off are concerned, two of the six women have Saturday and Sunday off, even though they don't have the seniority for it. Women do tend to be assigned to the station more often, but there rarely is more than one woman working as a station clerk at any one time.

Male Officer D

I only patrolled a few times with a woman. One time, a man came in to pay a ticket, smiling because the ticket was given to him by a policewoman. The man said, "I don't even think I was wrong, but I'll pay it anyway because she's an angel."

I think a woman would not fight as quickly as a man, but she would be more inclined to shoot because she is afraid. But when criminals are caught, they'll fight a man. With a woman, they'll just let her put the handcuffs on.

Male Officer E

I had a female partner in a beat car on a 10-33 (officer-in-trouble) call. A truck driver had an accident with a little boy and the boy's family began to violently attack the driver, coming at him with a hatchet. My partner and I and the first officer there all wrestled with the man in the family and finally got the hatchet. The policewoman stuck with me and fought like the rest of the officers. She wasn't like those women—or some of the men—who'd run rather than aid a partner.

VII. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BACKGROUND AND PERFORMANCE

This study collected a great deal of information about the background and performance of new women and comparison men. In addition to comparing the treatment, performance, and attitudes of and about these people, the information was used to study the relationships between some of the different background and performance characteristics, or variables. This is the first time such correlations have been presented for both men and women working in the same police department.

This further analysis was intended, first, to see if any background factors are significantly related to any measures of police performance. Second, it was designed to encourage further discussion and study of this question.

The analysis was intended to produce only a preliminary list of background variables which could be used to screen men or women for police work. The task of developing screening criteria is not appropriate for this report, partly because, as the following sections of this chapter show, no characteristics or tests currently on record or in use in the District of Columbia relate strongly to performance.

Two items studied, the pre-employment interview and height, proved to be of particularly doubtful value. Good scores on the interview related to nothing for the women and primarily to poor performance for the men. Shorter officers of both sexes seemed to perform better than taller ones. Of course, it is not known whether applicants not selected because of poor interview ratings or inadequate height would have performed as well as those selected.

SELECTION OF VARIABLES FOR ANALYSIS

Table 27 shows the performance and background variables used in the analysis, along with the source of information for each variable. All of these variables were included in the same computer file. The method used to reduce the even larger number of variables in this study to the number of variables in Table 27 was to discover which performance variables were closely related to each other and then to choose one variable to represent a group of related variables.

SELECTION OF TWO PERFORMANCE VARIABLES

Two performance variables were chosen for special study: (1) the overall ratings given to officers at the end of their probationary year, and (2) the number of misdemeanor arrests made by an officer per working day in the first half of 1973. The overall rating given by the department was selected for study rather than the ratings given on the Chief's or Officials' surveys for two reasons. First, the department's ratings are the official measure of an officer's performance. Second, these ratings are significantly correlated with many of the ratings on the other surveys which were devised strictly for research purposes. The decision to use misdemeanor arrests as an activity measure was arbitrary. Felony arrests were not selected because they occurred too infrequently, and may depend too much on an officer's "being there at the right time."

Correlation with Overall Rating

Two background variables were found to be correlated with an officer's overall rating, for both female and male officers. First, the officer's average score in the police academy for all subjects was positively correlated with the overall rating (officers with higher overall ratings received higher academy scores). White officers, regardless of sex, had higher ratings than black officers. New women's overall ratings were positively related to education and civil service scores (women with higher overall ratings were more educated and had received higher civil service scores).

Table 27
BACKGROUND AND PERFORMANCE VARIABLES STUDIED

VARIABLE IDENTIFICATION NUMBER[a]	DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLE	SOURCE OF VARIABLE	NUMBER OF OBSERVATIONS	
			New Women	Comparison Men
8	Year of Birth (older people have lower-numbered years of birth)	Personnel Jackets	81	77
9	Number of Years of Education (high school graduate = 12)	Personnel Jackets	84	82
10	Height (in inches)	Personnel Jackets	84	81
12	Married (variable = 1 if married; 0 if not married or if separated or divorced)	Personnel Jackets	84	82
13	Single (variable = 1 if never married; 0 if married, separated or divorced)	Personnel Jackets	84	82
14	"Other" marital status (variable = 1 if separated or divorced; 0 if married or single)	Personnel Jackets	84	82
15	Child (variable = 1 if person has a child; 0 if no child)	Personnel Jackets	82	81
18	Arrest for a crime prior to the application to the Police Department (variable = 1 if there was an arrest; 0 if no arrest)	Personnel Jackets	85	82
19	Number of moving traffic citations received prior to application to the Police Department	Personnel Jackets	85	82
26	Driving Test: the number of days elapsing between the date the officer was appointed to the Police Department and the date the driving test was passed	Personnel Jackets	77	70
27	Auto Accidents: the number of on-duty auto accidents the officers were involved in (as driver, passenger or pedestrian)	Personnel Jackets	84	81
29	Citizen Commendations: the number of written citizen commendations	Personnel Jackets	85	82
31	The number of jobs held by the officer prior to applying to the Police Department	Personnel Jackets	85	79
37	Pre-employment interview rating on general suitability for the job (scale: 1 = excellent, 4 = poor)	Personnel Jackets	82	77
51	Police Academy: average score for all subjects (where 0 = nothing right and 100 = everything right)	Personnel Jackets	81	75
52	Civil Service Score (before Veteran's Preference points are added)	Personnel Jackets	81	75
59	Departmental rating on written expression (1 = unsatisfactory; 10 = outstanding)	Personnel Jackets	71	71
62	Departmental rating on overall evaluation (1 = unsatisfactory; 10 = outstanding)	Personnel	71	70
63	Unbecoming Conduct (1 = unbecoming conduct noted; 0 = no unbecoming conduct noted)	Personnel Jackets	68	70
66	Resigned before October 31, 1974 (1 = resigned; 0 = still employed)	Personnel Jackets	85	82
109	Supervisory rating on dealing with the public (0 = extremely poor; 8 = extremely good)	Chief's Survey	62	40
116	Supervisory rating on "in general, performing street patrol," (0 = extremely poor; 8 = extremely good)	Chief's Survey	58	39

120	Race (1 = black or other; 0 = white)	Chief's Survey	70	51
132	Station duty: the percent of the officer's total reported working days (including sick leave) spent on station duty (first half of 1973)	Chief's Survey	67	49
136	Sick leave: the percent of the officer's total reported working days (including sick leave) spent on sick leave	Chief's Survey	67	49
140	The number of favorable comments from the public received by the officer per working day (excluding sick leave)	Chief's Survey	67	49
143	Supervisor's indication of continued desire to retain officer in the department (1 = retain, 0 = no)	Chief's Survey	52	44
147	Number of misdemeanor arrests made per working day (first half of 1973)	Chief's Survey	67	50
150	Number of injuries suffered by the officer	Chief's Survey	69	51
151	Days absent from work because of injuries	Chief's Survey	69	61
DUMSO	Whether observers were unable to observe the officer (1 = did not observe, 0 = did observe)	Structured Observation	85	82
180	The number of incidents handled by the officer (or partner) per hour of observation	Structured Observation	33	48
182	The average attitude of all citizen-participants toward the officer (1 = very friendly, 5 = very hostile)	Structured Observation	33	44
185	The frequency with which the officer's patrol partner gave him instructions (1 = gave no instructions, 5 = constantly gave instructions)	Structured Observation	26	39
187	The average score for the officer's attitude toward each angry citizen (1 = very friendly, 5 = very hostile)	Structured Observation	33	44
192	The average score for the reaction of *complainants* to specific actions and methods of the officer (1 = very favorable, 5 = very unfavorable)	Structured Observation	24	38
197	The average score for the reaction of *victims* to specific actions and methods of the officer (1 = very favorable, 5 = very unfavorable)	Structured Observation	13	19
200	The average score of *youth,* age 17 or under, to specific actions and methods of the officer (1 = very favorable, 5 = very unfavorable)	Structured Observation	17	24
203	The average rating of the officer's attitude toward citizens involved in dangerous or angry incidents (1 = very friendly, 5 = very hostile)	Structured Observation	17	24
210	The average general attitude rating of *youth* toward the officer (1 = very friendly, 5 = very hostile)	Structured Observation	14	30
218	The average rating of the officer's attitude toward citizens involved in arguments in residence	Structured Observation	11	13
306	The average rating given by officials to the officer for all listed scales	Officials' Survey	69	73

[a] The variable identification number appears on the data tapes of the "Super-personnel file," which was used in this analysis and may be made available for an appropriate fee to interested individuals or organizations.

Comparison men's overall ratings were positively correlated with age, marital status, and prior arrest record. Older men got better ratings, as did married men. Male officers who were arrested for a crime before applying to the police department had worse performance ratings.

Male and female officers with better departmental ratings tended to have fewer notations of unbecoming conduct on their record. They also had higher average ratings by officials on the (anonymous) Officials' Survey, and had more written commendations from citizens in their personnel jackets.

Women with better departmental ratings also tended to be less likely than other women to resign from the department. They were *more* likely than women with lower ratings to spend a large proportion of their time on regular station duty. These same highly rated women were observed to have a tendency to have a less friendly attitude than other women toward dangerous or angry citizens. However, compared to other new women, the highly rated officers tended to elicit a *more* favorable reaction from citizens who had been victims of a crime

Men with better departmental ratings tend to be involved in fewer auto accidents than other men and to have received more favorable comments from citizens. They have also received better ratings on the Chief's Survey on their ability to deal with the public and on their general ability to perform street patrol.

Correlation with Misdemeanor Arrests

None of the background variables for women was significantly correlated with the frequency with which women made misdemeanor arrests. However, women who were observed on patrol at least once as part of this study–probably because they were more often on street assignments–were more likely to make misdemeanor arrests.

Comparison men were more likely to make misdemeanor arrests if they were married rather than single, if they did well in the police academy, if they had a high civil service score, and if they were white. Men who had high numbers of misdemeanor arrests tended to have fewer absences from work because of service-connected injuries, were assigned to regular station duty more often and tended to have higher ratings for general patrol ability on the Chief's Survey. Men with high numbers of misdemeanor arrests were also observed to be more friendly toward angry citizens.

OTHER BACKGROUND VARIABLES

Table 28 shows the relationship involving overall ratings, misdemeanor arrests and the other variables that had a statistically significant level of correlation. A positive number on the table means that greater attainment on one variable was related to greater attainment on the one intersecting it. A minus sign in front of a number means that as attainment on one variable rose, attainment on the one intersecting it on the table fell.

The following sections discuss some of the findings relating to other variables analyzed.

Delay in Passing Driving Test

While a driving test is not ordinarily part of the screening procedure in selecting officers, the amount of delay in passing the driving test in the police academy had an interesting relationship to performance variables.

Men who took longer in passing the department's driving tests were less likely to be observed at least once in the course of the Structured Observation program–presumably because the men were less likely to be on patrol. In addition, angry citizens were more likely to be hostile to these men than to others, and these men were less likely to have favorable written comments from citizens in their personnel jackets.

For women, in contrast, the longer it took to pass the driving test, the *more* likely the woman was to have been observed at least once in the course of the Structured Observation program. Victims were more likely to react favorably to the methods used by these women. However, these officers were observed to be less friendly than other women to young people, angry people, and to people involved in arguments inside of residences. These women also tended to have lower civil service scores than other women and to do less well in the police academy.

Age

Generally speaking, younger men fared somewhat worse than older men, but findings were mixed on younger women. The younger men were less likely to have a written commendation from a citizen in their personnel jackets, were more likely to have received poor ratings from the department at the end of their probationary year, and were more likely to receive poor ratings on the Officials' Survey. They also were less educated, more likely to be single, and less likely to have had moving traffic violations prior to applying to the police department.

Younger new women were more likely to be involved in unbecoming conduct (of a minor nature) and more likely to take sick leave. On the other hand, they were less likely to be involved in an automobile accident or to be given regular station assignments, and were more likely to have a friendly attitude towards participants in arguments inside residences. Younger women were more likely to be single.

Table 28

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS (CORRELATION STATISTICS) AMONG SELECTED BACKGROUND AND PERFORMANCE MEASURES FOR NEW WOMEN ("W") AND COMPARISON MEN ("M")

VARIABLE NAME	SAMPLE SIZE	BACKGROUND MEASURES						PERFORMANCE MEASURES	
		Civil Service Score	Education	Driving Test	Year of Birth	Height	Interview	Misdemeanor Arrests	Overall Rating by Department
		N=81W 75M	N=84W 82M	N=77W 70M	N=81W 77M	N=84W 81M	N-82W 77M	N=67W 50M	N=71W 70M
Year of Birth	N=81W 77M		-.349						-.247
Education (number of years)	N=84W 82M	.270W .436M		-.349M					.201W
Married	N=84W 82M							.341M	.337M
Single	N=84W 82M		.268W		.216W .313M				
"Other" (Marital Status)	N=84W 82M					.218W			
Arrest for a crime prior to application to police department	N=85W 82M						-.255M		-.245M
Number of moving traffic citations prior to application	N=85W 82M				-.296M		.271M		
Driving Test: (time elapsing between date of appointment and passing test)	N=77W 70M	-.252W							
Number of jobs held prior to applying to police department	N=85W 74M		.219W			-.293M	.493M		
Police Academy Average Score	N=81W 75M	.690W .689M	.359W .400M	.260W				.369M	.348W .262M
Civil Service Score	N=80W 63M		.270W .436M	.252W				.369M	.255W
Race (Black)	N=70W 51M	-.352W -.562M						-.400M	-.279W -.244M

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Table 28 *(continued)*

VARIABLE NAME	SAMPLE SIZE	BACKGROUND MEASURES						PERFORMANCE MEASURES	
		Civil Service Score N=81W 75M	Education N=84W 82M	Driving Test N=77W 70M	Year of Birth N=81W 77M	Height N=84W 81M	Interview N-82W 77M	Misdemeanor Arrests N=67W 50M	Overall Rating by Department N=71W 70M
PERFORMANCE MEASURES									
Auto Accidents the officers were in (on-duty)	N=84W 81M				-.253W				 .272M
Citizens Commendations	N=85W 82M	 .307M	.208W		 -.259M				.285W .202M
Departmental Rating on Written Expression	N=71W 71M	.244W	.325W						
Departmental Rating on overall evaluation	N=71W 70M				-.574M	-.220M			
Unbecoming Conduct	N=68W 70M				.273W				-.253W -.240M
Resigned before October 31, 1974	N=85W 82M	-.292M							.203W
Supervisory Rating on dealing with the public	N=62W 40M		.241W						.336M
Supervisory Rating on general performance of street patrol	N=58W 39M		.371W .227M			-.276M		.332M	.580M
Station Duty: the percent of officers total working days spent on station duty	N=67W 49M				-.245W			 .330M	.447W
Sick Leave (Number of days reported as sick days)	N=67W 49M	.302W			.316W				
Number of Favorable Comments from public	N=67W 49M			-.406M		-.236M			.259M
Supervisor's Desire to Retain Officer	N=52W 44M					-.295W			
Days absent from work due to injuries	N=69W 51M	-.275M						-.263M	

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Table 28 *(continued)*

VARIABLE NAME	SAMPLE SIZE	BACKGROUND MEASURES						PERFORMANCE MEASURES	
		Civil Service Score N=81W 75M	Education N=84W 82M	Driving Test N=77W 70M	Year of Birth N=81W 77M	Height N=84W 81M	Interview N=82W 77M	Misdemeanor Arrests N=67W 50M	Overall Rating by Department N=71W 70M
Whether observers did *not* observe officer	N=85W 82M			-.206W .226M				-.263W	
The average attitude of all citizens participants toward officer	N=33W 44M			.335M					
Frequency with which the officer's partner gave instructions	N=26W 39M		.259M						
Average score for the officer's attitude toward each citizen in an incident	N=33W 44M							-.335M	
Average score for reaction of victims	N=13W 19M		-.246M	-.503W		.486M	.445M		
Average score of youth, age 17 or under	N=17W 24M			.581W					
Average rating of officer's attitude toward citizens involved in angry incidents	N=17W 24M			.426W					.398W
Average rating of officer's attitude toward citizens involved in arguments in residence	N=11W 13M			.524W	.695W	-.448M			
Average rating given by officials to the officer for all listed scales	N=69W 73M				-.250M	-.346W	-.298M		.370W .537M

Variables which did not correlate significantly with the background variables were deleted. These deleted variables include: number of misdemeanor arrests made per working day, number of injuries suffered by an officer, number of incidents handled by the officer (or partner) per hour of observation, the average score for the reaction of complainants to specific actions and methods of the officer, and the average general attitude rating of youth toward the officer.

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Education

Officers of both sexes with more education were found to have somewhat higher ratings from supervisors, but there was no marked or clearly discernible effect of education on performance as measured by trained observers.

More educated women did better on their civil service examination and in the police academy. They also received relatively high ratings from the department on written expression and were rated relatively high on the Chief's Survey, both on their ability to deal with the public and on their general patrol ability. Women with more education were somewhat more likely to be involved in an auto accident. They were more likely to be single than were less educated women, and they were likely to have had more jobs before they applied for a police job.

More educated men received higher ratings on the Chief's Survey than did other men on their general ability to do street patrol, and they were observed to get more friendly responses from victims. Surprisingly, their partners were more likely to give educated men (compared to less educated men) instructions during patrol incidents. More educated men had higher civil service scores, higher police academy scores and were somewhat older.

Civil Service Test Scores

Both men and women with high civil service test scores tended to be more educated and to have higher police academy scores than others of their sex. White officers of both sexes had higher civil service scores than black officers.

Women with high civil service scores passed their police academy driving test more quickly and received higher ratings on their writing ability at the end of their probationary year. The high-scoring women also were more likely to use sick leave.

Men with high civil service scores were less likely to resign from the department or to have been absent from work because of injuries, and more likely to have a written commendation from a citizen in their personnel jackets.

Pre-Employment Interview

All of the ratings on the pre-employment interviews (neatness, appearance, courtesy, attitude toward the job and general suitability for the job) were highly intercorrelated. However, the general suitability interview rating seldom correlated any *favorable* performance variable.

Women's ratings on general suitability did not correlate significantly with any other background or performance variable. Men with high suitability ratings had relatively low average ratings from officials, and these men also elicited comparatively poor reactions from victims. Men with high suitability ratings were somewhat less likely to have been arrested for a prior crime, were likely to have received relatively more moving traffic violations prior to applying for employment and were likely to have held somewhat more jobs prior to applying for employment.

Height

Generally speaking, the taller an officer was, the more likely he or she was to be rated poorly on performance. The taller women were more likely to have been rated on the Chief's Survey as not suitable for retention in the department, and more likely to have comparatively poor average ratings on the Officials' Survey.

Taller men were given lower overall performance ratings by the department and lower ratings on the Chief's Survey on their general ability to patrol. They were less likely than shorter officers to have received favorable comments from the public, and they were observed to evoke comparatively poor reactions from victims. The only favorable relationship found between height and performance was that tall men were observed to receive more favorable reactions when they handled arguments inside residences.

IX. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ABOUT POLICEWOMEN, POLICING AND SUPERVISION

Most of the observations in this chapter stem directly from data collected for this study and the experience of collecting it. Some, however, stem in part from other evaluation and data collection experiences in which the authors have been involved in other departments.

PLANNING FOR POLICEWOMEN

Police departments which hire women on an equal basis with men can expect that male attitudes will be translated into behavior which creates problems for policewomen. The introduction of policewomen into patrol activities should be discussed in advance with policemen, and they should be assured that no favoritism will be shown to women. A mechanism should be established to handle the legitimate grievances of both sexes.

One possible method is to establish a task force, consisting of officials of different ranks as well as policemen and policewomen. The task force, which should be responsible to a single individual, should propose guidelines to insure that policewomen have an equal opportunity to perform on patrol and that there is no favoritism or protectiveness toward women.

Once guidelines are drawn up and approved, the task force should communicate those guidelines to all levels of the department. The task force should monitor the progress of the program, recommend modification of the guidelines if necessary, and resolve grievances.[31] This evaluation report may help in anticipating problems.

HANDLING VIOLENCE

Reports by observers indicated that men and women are equally capable of handling angry or violent citizens. In most of the observed incidents, the citizens were angry and not actually violent. Violence against police officers is an infrequent occurrence in police work,[32] and, in the course of this study, it was not possible to observe enough incidents to be sure that men and women are equally capable in all such situations. It is clear from the incidents which were described that women performed well in the few violent situations which did arise.

The possibility exists that those policewomen who deal with the same types of patrol situations as men are less likely to experience violent situations. The data show that women were less likely to engage in serious unbecoming conduct, and comments from officers suggest that women were less likely to practice "aggressive" patrol tactics. A forthcoming report on fourteen policewomen in New York City indicates that these women had greater success than men in cooling down violent situations.[33]

Clearly, some men and women are relatively unable to prevent or to deal with violence. Departments should, therefore, try to develop relevant training and supervision. However, there is no reason to single out men or women for special treatment.

Violent incidents may occur less frequently or be dealt with more effectively if individual differences are considered in making police assignments. For example, an aggressive officer may be less likely to get into difficulties

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[31] Task forces of this general nature (not specifically concerned with policewomen) have demonstrated their usefulness in both Kansas City and Cincinnati.

[32] Attacks on police officers have been estimated to occur to one-fifth of all police officers in any one year. This results in injury to one-seventh of all police officers in any one year. Preston J. Horstman, "Assaults on Police Officers," *The Police Chief*, December 1973, p. 44.

[33] Judith Greenwald, Harriet Connolly and Peter Bloch, *New York City Policewomen on Patrol*, Police Foundation, 1974 (forthcoming).

if given a partner of a contrasting temperament. An officer who deals well with male citizens might be paired with an officer who deals well with female citizens. By making this kind of operational decision a department can maximize the advantages and minimize the disadvantages which may occur because of the performance of individual men or women.

SELECTION OF OFFICERS

As shown in Chapter VIII, there were no observed personal characteristics of officers or tests results obtained during the selection or training process in the District of Columbia which were strongly related to performance.[34] Both good interview ratings and greater height correlated more often with negative performance than with positive performance.

The findings in this report on the adequacy of police selection procedures are consistent with the findings of other researchers.[35] The value of the personal interview (including ratings of a prospective officer's "neatness" and "appearance") as a screening device is open to serious question. Other criteria, including personal characteristics, also were found to be of doubtful value as predictors of performance in the District of Columbia department. Consequently, until better selection procedures are developed, departments should rely more on the probationary year to judge the effectiveness of officers.

The authors endorse the recommendation of the President's Crime Commission:

> Entering officers should serve probation periods of, preferably, 18 months and certainly no less than one year. During this period, the recruit should be systematically observed and rated. Chief administrators should have the sole authority of dismissal during the probation period and should willingly exercise it against unsatisfactory officers.[36]

Of course, care should be taken to use the probationary period constructively. In particular, departments should develop minimum performance standards which can be applied to both men and women as individuals. Officers whose performance is found lacking should be informed of the basis for the judgment and should be given an opportunity to improve their performance and earn a place in the department.

For example, probationers should be expected to be able to mediate in conflicts without frequently provoking violence or making unnecessary arrests. Statistics might be kept on the number of conflicts handled by each officer and the frequency with which violence and arrests occur. A special inquiry might be made into the reason for high frequencies for any officer. Statistics on the quality of arrests, as reflected in decisions of prosecutors to prosecute cases, also would be useful. Ratings by supervisors of the performance of officers in specific types of situations (riots, street violence, handling disorderly females, etc.) might be more useful than ratings on "traits," such as ability to learn, writing ability, and neatness, used for employee evaluation in many departments.

SUPERVISION OF OFFICERS

The performance of a police officer is not entirely the result of personal abilities and attitudes. It can be shaped by the working environment, which includes the attitudes, behavior, suggestions and orders of co-workers and supervisors.

The style of supervision which prevails in many police departments is to give officers considerable discretion, provided their conduct is not illegal or "unbecoming." For example, when an officer makes an arrest, the field supervisor's principal concerns may be whether there is enough evidence to hold the suspect (probable cause) and whether charges will be pressed by the prosecutor. If the suspect has been injured or appears likely to complain about the arrest, the supervisor may inquire into the circumstances of the arrest.

In one important respect the District of Columbia department is a leader in the way in which it supervises arrests. An arrangement with the U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia enables the department to obtain information about arrests which, in the opinion of an assistant attorney, could not be prosecuted (papered) because of "police reasons," including inadequate or improper case preparation. About ten percent of arrests are classified as not prosecuted for police reasons.[37] When an officer's case is not prosecuted for police reasons, the officer's supervisor is notified and the supervisor reviews the reasons with the officer. In addition, statistics on "police reasons" are analyzed to determine whether any unit's no-paper rate is inordinately high.

Even in departments with a case review process, however, few supervisors are likely to know whether arrests are *necessary* or *avoidable*. That is, there is unlikely to be a discussion between a supervisor and an officer about

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[34] Even the statistically significant correlations had low correlation coefficients.

[35] See Bernard Cohen and Jan M. Chaiken, *Police Background Characteristics and Performance*, The New York City RAND Institute (Lexington Books, Lexington, Massachusetts, 1973) Chapter 2.

[36] *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 113.

[37] Geoffrey M. Alprin, "D.C.'s Case Review Section Studies the 'No-paper' Phenomenon," *The Police Chief*, April 1973, p. 39+.

whether more sensitive handling of a situation might have resulted in restoration of peace and order without an arrest.[38] Furthermore, there is unlikely to be a discussion of whether it might have been better to treat some situations between friends or relatives as "technical" offenses better overlooked than prosecuted.

It may be still more unlikely for a supervisor to review a situation with an officer just to develop the officer's skills, to suggest that an arrest was appropriate in a *particular situation* in which one was not made. Consequently, an officer is left to develop his or her own discretion through personal experience and observation of peers.

If police officers had the habit of constructively evaluating one another's experiences, this might further educate officers as to how better to respond to the complexities of police situations. A barrier to this type of performance evaluation is that police–like many other people–seem generally unwilling to confess possible error to one another.

In many police departments supervisors rarely see themselves as responsible for developing the skills of their employees. They sometimes praise them for courage or criticize them for misbehavior, but they do not create an atmosphere in which officers' methods can be freely discussed and examined.

Of course there are police departments and individual supervisors who are exceptions to the general rule. It is possible for any supervisor to begin the process of converting his unit into a dynamic and evolving one which learns from its mistakes and from its successes.[39]

PERSPECTIVES ON ARRESTS AND TRAFFIC CITATIONS

In a department in which number of arrests and traffic citations are considered important performance measures, men or women believed deficient should be given suggestions for improvement. Guidance should be given in the kind of arrests or citations which the officer should be making. This process requires knowledge of the area to which the officer has been assigned, the types of incidents which the officer has handled, and the kinds of action which should be taken. Otherwise, officers may interpret a directive to *make more arrests* as showing a lack of understanding of the circumstances under which they must perform. Worse, it can be misinterpreted by the officers as a license to "bait" citizens so that they can arrest them or to make arrests with insufficient legal grounds.

Furthermore, any department which values arrests and traffic citations should also value patrol skills which settle arguments, provide other police services and improve community relations. Any single standard of performance–such as arrests–is likely to discriminate against officers whose performance is otherwise outstanding.

CONCLUSION

Many police departments will assign women to patrol only because of legal requirements. However, the introduction of women will create an incentive for police departments to examine many management practices which are less acceptable now that they must be applied to men and women alike. This may result in the development of improved selection criteria, performance standards, and supervision for all officers.

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[38] See Nelson A. Watson, *Issues in Human Relations*, International Association of Chiefs of Police, Gaithersburg, Maryland, 1973, for a sensitive discussion of the complexities of handling conflicts and potential conflicts. The Police Foundation currently is sponsoring a study by Morton Bard of conflict resolution in Norwalk, Connecticut; findings from this study may prove useful to the patrol officer.

[39] Some techniques for accomplishing this conversion of a police unit are discussed by Peter B. Bloch and David Specht in *Neighborhood Team Policing*, Government Printing Office, 1974, Chapter VI.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON STRUCTURED OBSERVATION

The 23 trained observers used in this evaluation of female officers on patrol included women (approximately half), blacks (one quarter) and police officers (17 percent). The total amount of observation was roughly equivalent to observing one police officer for an entire year.

During July and August 1973 an attempt was made to observe every new woman and comparison man assigned to patrol duty during an evening tour. The procedure was that once an officer in the sample was observed, he or she was not observed again until some other officer in the sample had been observed. Under this procedure, 33 women (38 percent of the new women) and 48 men (56 percent of the comparison men) were observed at least once. But since 48 new women and 62 comparison men had "street assignments," it is obvious that observers did not see all the new officers who might have been observed. Observation was governed partly by the wishes of police supervisors and partly by the wishes of the officers themselves. In some cases women were specifically assigned to patrol on a particular evening in order to accommodate an observer.

As shown in Table A, only male observers were permitted to accompany a male patrol officer working alone. This was in accordance with a pre-existing order of the department governing the circumstances under which civilians were permitted to ride with police on request. Under that order, female civilians were prohibited from

Table A
FREQUENCY WITH WHICH DIFFERENT TYPES OF POLICE UNITS WERE OBSERVED

TYPE OF POLICE TEAM	NUMBER OF TOURS[a]	SEX OF OBSERVER		
		Male		Female
		%		%
One Man	10	100	*	0
Two Men	94	50		50
Man-Woman	1	100		0
All Teams with Comparison Men	105	55		45
One Woman	42	69	*	31
Woman-Man	43	53		47
Two Women	1	100		0
All Teams with New Women	86	62		38
TOTAL TOURS	191	58		42

* Significant difference.

[a]Includes tours in which the officer was observed for only part of the tour. On the average, men were observed 420 minutes per tour, and women were observed 418 minutes per tour.

Source: Structured Observation

riding with a male officer in a one-officer unit (presumably to prevent the officer's being charged with sexual misconduct during the tour). However, this order had been waived by the department for this study, and it had been expected that females would observe males patrolling alone.

Ignoring for the moment the observations of one-man units (all observed by males), male observers were found to be more likely to observe one-woman units than were female observers. On 26 percent of their patrol car rides, males observed one-woman units, while women observed one-woman police units on 16 percent of their rides. This was not due to pre-established procedure. The apparent explanation is that male supervisors wanted to protect female observers and seldom assigned them to a unit where their sole source of protection would be a single policewoman.

POSSIBLE OBSERVER BIAS. Data collected by male and female observers were compared to determine if there was any bias due to the observer's sex. No bias was found. For example, there were no significant differences between male and female observers in the ratings they gave to new women or comparison men in regard to attitude of spectators toward police, attitude of police toward spectators, respect of citizens for officers, citizen's reaction to an officer's "conversational" approach, citizen's reaction to officer's "advice/assistance," attitude of officer toward citizens, and respect of officer for citizens. Male and female observers both noted that citizens were less likely to be "neutral" and more likely to be either positive or negative in the degree of respect shown to new women as compared to men.

EFFECT OF OBSERVERS. Observers' ratings showed no sex bias, and all observations by male and female observers led to identical conclusions. However, the observers do appear to have had an effect on the activities in which the officers engaged. (See Table B.) Females observed more total incidents per tour than did males (5.66 incidents for female observers and 4.57 for male observers). With a female observer, both men and women officers were more likely to initiate non-traffic incidents (particularly, stopping to talk with adults) than with a male observer. With male observers, female officers were more likely to initiate a traffic incident, such as giving a ticket or a warning. (Male officers also gave more traffic warnings when observed by males than when observed by females, but male officers made more vehicle spot checks—where there was no apparent traffic violation—with female observers than with male observers.)

Even though the observers apparently had the effects just discussed, male and female observers made the same observations about the level of activity by male and female officers. For example, female observers saw male officers initiating more traffic incidents than did female officers (1.00 per tour for male officers versus 0.30 for female officers). Male observers also saw male officers initiating more traffic incidents (1.26 per tour for male officers versus 0.66 for female officers). Neither male nor female observers noted that male and female officers differed significantly in the number of non-traffic incidents they initiated. Neither male nor female observers noted a statistically significant difference between policemen and policewomen in the total number of incidents handled per tour, but both agreed that male officers handled somewhat more total incidents. By combining the results of male and female observers and thereby increasing the sample size, however, it is found that the combined results are significantly different (male officers handled 5.42 total incidents per tour compared to 4.54 for the women).

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Table B
EFFECT OF OBSERVERS: MALE AND FEMALE OBSERVERS' REPORTS OF OFFICER ACTIVITY

SEX OF OFFICER	SEX OF OBSERVER	NUMBER OF TOURS	NUMBER OF INCIDENTS PER TOUR	NUMBER OF TRAFFIC[a] INCIDENTS PER TOUR				NUMBER OF NON-TRAFFIC[b] INCIDENTS PER TOUR				
				All Traffic	Gave Ticket	Gave Warning	Spot Check For Stolen Auto	All Non-Traffic	Talk With Adults	Talk With Juveniles	Question Suspicious Persons	Follow-up Prior Incident
Female												
	Female	33	5.21	0.30	0.12	0.06	0.09	1.61	0.88	0.09	0.09	0.21
			*	*				*	*			
	Male	53	4.13	0.66	0.28	0.13	0.08	0.49	0.21	0.08	0.00	0.08
	Total	86	4.54	0.52	0.22	0.10	0.08	0.92	0.47	0.08	0.03	0.13
Male												
	Female	47	5.98	1.00	0.30	0.13	0.30	1.60	0.83	0.36	0.00	0.23
			*			*	*	*	*			
	Male	58	4.97	1.26	0.50	0.36	0.10	0.66	0.21	0.16	0.05	0.10
	Total	105	5.42	1.14	0.41	0.26	0.19	1.08	0.49	0.25	0.03	0.16

* Significant difference.

[a] Includes only incidents initiated by the new women or comparison men per tour.

[b] Includes incidents initiated by either partner per tour.

NOTE: Male and female observers found that men were more likely to initiate traffic incidents than were women (significant difference).

Source: Structured Observation

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Peter B. Bloch, project manager for this evaluation, has been directing police studies at The Urban Institute of Washington, D.C. since 1970. His publications have dealt primarily with neighborhood team policing. Mr. Bloch is a lawyer, with LL.B. and LL.M. degrees from Harvard Law School and a B.S. in experimental psychology from Tufts University.

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